The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1891.

The Week.

IT appears now to be ascertained that only two of the eleven Italians killed in New Orleans were Italian subjects. As Mr. Blaine has admitted "the principle of indemnity"—that is, the right of the relatives of such Italian subjects as may have been wronged by a violation of the rights secured to them by the treaty, if any there be, to pecuniary compensation—whenever the discussion of this compensation begins, the value in money of the lives lost will of course come up at once. Mr. Blaine's first question will be, What kind of men were they whose fate we are all deploring? To what extent were they useful to their families and to the society in which they lived? What was the nature of their moral, apart from their legal, claims on the protection of the United States Government? To this the Marquis di Rudini will, it appears, have to answer that one of them, Vincenzo Traina, was a professional robber and cut-throat in Sicily, his native place, and a fugitive from Italian justice. The other, Antonio Catuna, was also a murderer and a fugitive from Italian justice. The compensation due to the relatives of a slain honest Italian laborer, lawyer, merchant, or doctor would be ascertained, in terms of money, partly by considering the amount of his lawful annual earnings, and partly by considering the estimation in which he was held in the community in which he lived, and the credit which his life and career reflected on his family and in his native country. But how would the lives of two fugitive cut-throats be appraised? What jurist, moralist, or auctioneer should be called in as an expert by the arbitrators sitting on this question? Would there not be some danger that, after hearing the evidence, Mr. Blaine might set up a counter-claim against Italy for the damage done by the presence of two such Italians in an American city during a certain period of time, including the expense of watching, catching, and trying them? If this be considered a fantastic view, can the question of pecuniary indemnity be discussed at all without the submission of a counter-claim against Italy on behalf of the family of the murdered Hennessy, the Chief of Police? Hennessy really lost his life because he was trying to break up, among a portion of the Italian colony in New Orleans, the practice of murdering each other. The number they had murdered when he intervened is estimated at thirty. As soon as he intervened they murdered him, so that it may be fairly said that he died in the service of the Italian kingdom. We do not say this claim on the Italian Government is a legal claim, but the claims submitted under the "principle of indemnity" will not be legal claims, but moral ones, and as a moral claim that of Hennessy's heirs will, in our opinion, be the best of the lot.

The Rio *News* of February 17 finds public sentiment in Brazil so overwhelmingly opposed to the so-called reciprocity treaty with the United States that, although itself favoring the treaty, it thinks it might better be rejected, since "a treaty of reciprocity loses much of its value if the parties to it are not heartily in accord, and if the treaty is not the frank expression of their mutual wishes." The *News* expects that when the treaty is rejected, the President of the United States Government will put a duty of three cents per pound on Brazilian coffee at once. Apparently the Brazilians are not alarmed by the prospect of our taxing ourselves ten million dollars per year for one of the necessaries of life, and making a present at the same time of some six millions to other coffee-growing countries. Our importations of coffee from Brazil are a good deal more than one-half of our total importations. In the year 1889 we received from Brazil 374 million pounds, and from all other countries 204 million pounds. If a duty were put on Brazilian coffee only, the price of all coffee would rise in our market by the amount of the duty, or very nearly that. But our Treasury would get the three cents per pound only on the Brazilian article. The advance in price on other coffees would go to the producers in Venezuela, Java, Hayti, etc., for which, no doubt, they would be duly thankful.

The Boston *Advertiser* learns from an official source in which it reposes confidence that the President will *not* put a duty of 1½ cents per pound on hides from the Argentine Republic in case the latter refuses to lower her tariff on our products. The reason why he will not do so is that he recognizes the present financial difficulties of the Argentine Government. The Argentines are under the necessity of raising a large revenue from customs duties, and President Harrison would not put a stone in their way. The *Advertiser* coincides with this humane view. We ought not to take advantage of the distresses of our neighbors to vex them with tariffs in the hour of their need. The brotherhood of man forbids such a policy. Another fact not mentioned by the *Advertiser*, namely, that the putting of a duty on hides would smash what is left of the Republican party in Massachusetts, may have helped President Harrison to make up his mind. In fact, we think that if the Argentine finances were in the most flourishing condition imaginable, the President's decision not to put a duty on hides would be about as firm as it is now. If the Argentines had a Treasury surplus instead of a deficit, our compassionate and brotherly feelings would remain at about the same tender pitch as at present.

The sudden departure from Washington of the Canadian Commissioners appointed to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity with Mr. Blaine has given rise to all sorts of conjectures, and everybody is wondering what the reciprocity movement was begun for if it was so soon done for. The explanation is offered on both sides that President Harrison desired to take a part in the negotiations personally, and that, having made arrangements for an extensive tour in the South and West, he found it necessary to postpone the negotiation until his return. As the use of the telegraph is not unknown in Washington, the further explanation is offered that a telegram was sent to Ottawa to notify the Canadians of this change of programme, but that they had already started on their mission. So it appears that while the telegraph is recognized as a convenient instrument to prevent unnecessary journeys, it is not known how to use it to shorten them. Probably Mr. Foster, the Dominion Minister of Finance, will severely reprimand his subordinates when he returns home for not repeating the telegram to him on the train by which he was proceeding to Washington. The *faux pas* would have a rational explanation if we were to imagine that President Harrison had changed his mind at the last moment, and determined not to have any reciprocity treaty with Canada at all. Indeed, it is hard to see where reciprocity could begin without tearing the McKinley Act in tatters. After having taken such pains to "protect" hay, straw, potatoes, barley, eggs, fresh milk, oatmeal, wood pulp, lime, building stone, vegetables, bouquets, plants, fresh fish, etc., it would have been a terrible discomfiture for McKinley to have a negotiation going on whose very first move would have been to put all these things on the free list. The very presence of the Canadian Commissioners at Washington would have endangered his chances of becoming Governor of Ohio. If this is the true explanation of the sudden stoppage of the negotiation, Mr. Blaine owes Mr. McKinley "one," and will no doubt pay it to him in good time.

The Farmers' Alliance secured control of both branches of the Nebraska Legislature last November, and their constituents expected to see the promised era of "reform" in the Capitol. The session closed on Saturday, and a despatch from Lincoln says: "The closing scenes of the Legislature were disgraceful beyond description. The session wound up in a drunken orgy, lasting until daylight. Case after case of wine was taken into the House, and large quantities of whiskey and other liquors were consumed. The last official act of the Legislature was to pass a resolution declaring that Nebraska is eager to go to war with Italy, and that the United States ought to prevent Italian immigration." This is worse than has been recorded of any Legislature controlled by either of the old parties, and is calculated to suggest doubts to the minds of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

even the farmers as to whether the Alliance is really going to "reform things."

The Alliance members of the Minnesota Legislature have become so sensitive under newspaper criticism as almost to have succeeded in passing through the Senate a bill which provides that all articles, editorial items, and written accounts printed or published in any pamphlet, periodical, magazine, newspaper, sheet, circular, or handbill which shall therein purport to relate, state, describe, or give an account of or give intelligence of any political, official, personal, or social act, writing, or speech of any human being, living or dead, reflecting in any way upon such person's character, shall be subscribed by the full name of the person or persons who shall have written, composed, edited or prepared for such publication such article, editorial item, or written account. Penalty for failure to comply with the law is a fine of not more than $100 or less than $20, or imprisonment for not more than three months or less than thirty days. We are surprised that the publication of portraits or cuts of anybody, without signed authority, is not included in the list of offences, for surely here is a genuine grievance in all parts of the land, from which members of the Farmers' Alliance are not the only sufferers. There is such recklessness shown in the selection of these "cuts," in the "hurry of going to press," that nobody can feel any assurance that the one put forth fits the man to whom it is assigned. It is very seldom that cuts of the same man agree in any two newspapers; and if the majority of our rising statesmen really resemble any of the current newspaper portraits of them, it is in the interest of everybody concerned, if not in the interest of popular government itself, to have the publication of them in future surrounded with such difficulties as will prove practically prohibitive.

Senator Edmunds and Senator Plumb have allowed themselves to be interviewed in a careful way on the political situation, and both have taken occasion to point to the danger that the Farmers' Alliance threatens of throwing the next Presidential election into the House of Representatives, in which case the Democratic candidate would be elected. Such a result could follow only in case the Alliance should carry a certain number of States, leaving each of the other parties without an actual majority of the Electoral College. It is possible that the Alliance may carry Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and one or both of the Dakotas. All of these have hitherto been Republican States, and if they should be taken out of that column, the column would crumble. But the prospects of the Alliance carrying those States will be sufficiently clear in the autumn of 1892 to exercise a potent influence on the vote of other doubtful States. If it should become pretty evident before the election that the Republicans were in real danger of losing so large a slice of their accustomed vote, the reflex action in the doubtful States, such as New York, Massachusetts, and Indiana, would be very nearly decisive against them, while the same feeling would make Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Michigan doubtful. Therefore we cannot consider the danger of the election being thrown into the House very serious.

The Democrats have once more carried the State of Rhode Island and at the same time lost control of its government. Their candidate for Governor had a plurality of over 1,200, but not a clear majority over all; and as a majority is necessary for an election, there is no choice by the people, and the contest goes into the Legislature for decision. As the Republicans have a majority in the Legislature, they will elect as Governor their own candidate whom the people have refused to elect. This is in accordance with the antiquated system which the Republican managers in the State keep in operation, as the same party's managers do in Connecticut and New Hampshire, years after it has been abolished nearly everywhere else, to meet precisely this emergency. Its only effect is to permit a party which is in a minority in the State to retain control of the State government through the working of the town system of representation in the Legislature. In spite of these unjust advantages for the Republicans, the Democrats could have won this year in the legislative districts as well as in the State at large if they had shown more wisdom and public spirit in their legislative policy. So far as national issues are concerned, the State is Democratic, for in Presidential elections a plurality elects, and Rhode Island now has an unquestioned Democratic plurality.

It is becoming plain that the exigencies of Republican politics in Philadelphia and other large cities of the State have made necessary the defeat of the pending ballot-reform bill in the Pennsylvania Legislature. The Philadelphia *Press*, which is, for some inscrutable reason, almost invariably in favor of that kind of political reform which its party refuses to adopt, says the "Steering Committee" of the party in the Legislature has given orders that the bill must be beaten, and it thus warns the Republicans: "Such a course would prove the gravest mistake, and the Republican members who follow out such a policy will do their party a great wrong. It will pay to be fair and frank in this matter. The defeat of the ballot-reform measure now before the House, and the adoption of a scheme for a Constitutional Convention to be held at some distant time, means that the ballot-reform question is to be sidetracked by this Legislature. That is the plain sense of it, and the people will not be fooled with the idea that it means anything else." But the Republicans of the State are accustomed to the warnings of the *Press*, and are not likely to pay much heed to them. They remember that it threatened to "stand dumb" about Quay when the lid was taken off his State Treasury operations, and that it has been defending him with great volubility and shamelessness ever since the lid was removed, saying, in fact, that the removal was the devilish work of free-traders.

The enemies of ballot-reform legislation in this country have constantly taken pains to insist that this is "un-American." The Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* has sneered at it as "kangaroo reform," and Boutelle has denounced it as "a penal-colony institution." It happens, however, that the secret ballot, which is the foundation of the reform, found a warm defender in the first session of the United States Senate as long ago as the year 1789. The matter came up in connection with the subject of confirming nominations. Vice-President Adams proposed that he should rise in the chair and ask each Senator how he would vote. Senator Ellsworth argued that voting by ballot suited bashful men best. Senator Maclay, the radical Democrat of the body, replied (we quote from his diary): "So far from balloting being productive of caballing, it was the very antidote against it; that men made bargains for certainties, but it was in vain to purchase or bargain for a vote by ballot which there was no certainty of the party ever obtaining, as he had no method of securing the performance of a promise or of knowing whether he was deceived or not." The resolution in favor of a ballot was carried, but, so far as nominations were concerned, the matter was afterwards reconsidered. This argument of this early Democratic Senator has been used time and again in the recent discussion of ballot reform in the United States. It goes to the root of the whole matter, furnishing the reason why a secret ballot at the polls is a check on bribery and intimidation. That the Australians saw the force of it, as applied to popular elections, before we did, is no reason why it no longer holds good.

One of the reasons why the prices of domestic wool have declined is that the wool-growers, putting their dependence on the tariff to keep out foreign wool and ward off competition, have allowed their own product to deteriorate in quality. The sheep are now imperfectly fed and cared for, and much extraneous matter is allowed to mingle with the fleece. The result, is that a large amount of Australian wool has been imported to take the place of this deteriorated domestic product. For many years the imports of Australian wool amounted only to 25,000 or 30,000 bales per annum. Since the 6th of October last, when the McKinley tariff went into effect, the importations of this wool have reached 42,000 bales. That is, the arrivals for six months have been more than they ever were in any single year before, and the trade advices are that when the next London sales take place, 12,000 bales more will be taken for New York and Boston. Probably before the end of the year 65,000 bales of the current Australian clip will have reached this country. This spectacle has driven the tariff-mongering shepherds, who thought

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that they had been very smart, and who certainly were very unscrupulous, in their manipulation of the McKinley Bill, nearly wild. The only industry open to their attack at present is that of carpet-making. The sorting clause and the change-of-samples clause offer them an opportunity of getting a new tax levied without any new act of Congress. Under the latter clause they may get East India, Bagdad, and Khorassan wools, which now pay about eight cents per pound duty, put into the first class and taxed twenty-two cents per pound if they have been washed on the sheep's back, or thirty-three cents if they have been washed in any other way. Generally they are washed after shearing and before packing for market, and consequently would be subjected to thirty-three cents duty. That is, they would be prohibited altogether, and carpets would be imported instead.

The *United States Tobacco Journal* is moved to some remarks on the "Drawback Humbug" after reading what President Harrison said on the subject in his recent *Tribune* interview. What the President said was that under the McKinley Act "the American manufacturer can get raw material, for the duty is not charged when such material is imported to be manufactured into articles for exportation, and so the American merchant will be able to sell at the same point of advantage as the English merchant, with the additional advantage of free entry into the ports where treaties are made." The *Tobacco Journal* imagines a cigar-manufacturer trying to export his products and to get a refund of duties for that portion of his raw material which has been imported. He imports wrapper, paying duty at $2.75 per pound if stemmed, or at $2 if not stemmed, and filler, paying 35 cents per pound. A certain proportion of home-grown tobacco is used also. Now, how is a cigar-manufacturer to obtain his drawback? The first thing to be done is to ascertain what part of the cigar is of foreign and what part is of domestic material, and next, what part of the foreign material has been taxed $2 or $2.75 and what part 35 cents per pound. It might be supposed that by taking the cigar to pieces these facts could be ascertained. The parts would no longer be a cigar, it is true, but at least we should know what the drawback would have been, should we not? On the contrary, nobody could tell what parts were foreign and what parts were domestic, except that the wrapper might possibly be identified. It would be necessary, however, to prove affirmatively that the wrapper was imported, and to show whether it was imported stemmed or not stemmed, and to show that the duties had been actually paid. If no American tobacco were used, it would still be necessary to identify the different kinds of tobacco used, since they have different rates of duty. In short, the drawback is utterly inapplicable to the cigar trade. It is, says the *Tobacco Journal*, "as monumental a humbug as Schedule F [the tobacco duty] is a monumental folly of the McKinley Tariff Act."

The white population of the sixteen Southern States and the District of Columbia has, during the last decade, increased 2,915,070, or at the rate of 23.18 per cent., as against a negro increase of 845,692, or at the rate of 13 87 per cent. In both of the States whose race population has been but recently announced, viz., Mississippi and South Carolina, the negro gain since 1880 has been absolutely greater than that of the whites, and in the former (but not in the latter) it has been relatively greater as well. In Mississippi the negro increase during the decade has exceeded that of the whites by 37,174, and in South Carolina by 20,822. Between the tenth and eleventh censuses the negro population of South Carolina multiplied at the rate of 14.59 per cent. and the white at the rate of 17.22 per cent. In Mississippi the percentages of decennial increase were: colored 14.98 per cent., white 12.58 per cent. In the latter State there are now 208,013 more negroes than whites, and in the former 234,049 more. Comparing the statistics of the census of 1860 with those of the census of 1890, it appears that in each of the two States named the negroes have, in the thirty years intervening, grown somewhat more rapidly than the whites, and that as a consequence the number of negroes in every 10,000 of population, which was, in 1860, 5,528 in Mississippi and 5,859 in South Carolina, had by 1890 increased to 5,798 in the former State and to 6,016 in the latter. Except in the States which lie south of the southern boundaries of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, and east of the Sabine, there is no likelihood of the negro population ever outnumbering the whites, for, except the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, there is no State in which the negroes constitute as much as two-fifths of the entire population. Moreover, in those of the more northern Southern States in which, as in Virginia and North Carolina, the negroes are proportionately most numerous, they are increasing very much more slowly than the whites. In the six far Southern States east of the Sabine, taken together, the negroes now constitute a majority of the entire population, but in the last decade they have increased very much less rapidly than the whites in Alabama, Florida, and Louisiana, appreciably less in South Carolina, have not quite held their own in Georgia, and only in Mississippi have they multiplied at a greater ratio. In these States the aggregate white population has increased 21.53 per cent. since 1880, while the colored, if the census is to be relied on, has increased but 16.45 per cent.

For twenty years the tide in the States in question was running the other way, and that to so great an extent that even now, after the white gains during the last decade, there are only 4,905 whites in every 10,000 of total population, as against 5,036 just before the outbreak of the war. As the rate of the natural increase of the negroes since 1880 for the country as a whole has been probably between 13 and 15 per cent., the six States named have not only retained their native negro inhabitants, but have absorbed negro immigrants from other States. The white gain is due to the fact that the white immigration, especially to Alabama and Florida, was still heavier. Comparing the actual percentage of increase during the decade in the negro population of such States as have thus far been announced, with the rate of natural increase of the negro population as determined by the census, it appears that the number of negro immigrants to the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina is about as great as that of the negro emigrants from them; that the latter exceeds the former in the States of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, while the reverse is the case in Arkansas, California, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, Texas, and West Virginia. In other words, there is unquestionably a movement of negro population from the more northern Southern States to the States of the far South and Southwest, and probably also northward to the old free States.

On March 15 the project of a pension law was submitted to the Swiss people and rejected by a vote of 352,462 against 91,679. The law proposed to give to Federal functionaries and officials who, on account of age or other infirmity, had become incapable of discharging their duties, and who had been at least fifteen years in the service, a pension amounting to not less than 25 or more than 50 per cent. of their salary, and in no case to exceed 2,000 francs. In exceptional cases, after thirty years of faithful service, the law permitted a pension of 60 per cent. of the salary, but in no case could such pension exceed the sum of 2,500 francs. In Switzerland 6,829 officials, or 80 per cent. of the entire personnel of the Federal Administration, are connected with the Post-office. Of these 6,829 persons 2,262 receive a salary of only 1,000 francs, 2,237 receive from 1,000 to 1,500 francs, 1,107 from 1,500 to 2,000 francs, 405 from 2,000 to 2,500 francs, 292 from 2,500 to 3,000 francs, 301 from 3,000 to 3,500 francs, 168 from 3,500 to 4,000, and 57 receive 4,000 francs. The necessity of the pension law is therefore perfectly apparent, and it would at present require an annual expenditure of only about 130,000 francs. Not merely as a matter of simple justice to poorly paid subordinate officials, but also as a means of increasing the efficiency of the public service by enabling sickly and superannuated persons to retire without danger of starvation, some such legislation is imperatively demanded. Only the cities of Geneva and Bâle accepted the proposed law by a vote of nearly three to one; but the rural districts and the working classes of the other towns voted it down by a majority of 260,788. The result was due partly to ignorance, but still more to deep-seated jealousy and suspicion of whatever seems to savor of bureaucracy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ITALIAN TROUBLE.

THE withdrawal of the Italian Minister from Washington as a mark of the dissatisfaction of his Government with the answer he has received to the remonstrances addressed to Mr. Blaine touching the New Orleans lynching affair is, of course, greatly to be regretted. But we think its diplomatic importance may be overestimated, even though nothing worse is likely to happen. There is really hardly any material in the case for diplomatic discussion. As regards those victims who were American citizens, the Italian Government has no charge of them whatever, any more than of any other American citizens. It cannot call the American Government, either State or Federal, to account for anything that has happened to them. They had repudiated their allegiance to the King of Italy in a way which the Italian Government recognizes as valid. As regards those who were still Italian subjects, the case is equally clear. They lived at New Orleans under the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation concluded in 1871 between Italy and the United States, through Mr. George P. Marsh, then our Minister. Article i. secures for Italian citizens sojourning in the United States "the same rights, privileges, favors, immunities, and exemptions for their commerce and navigation as the natives of the country wherein they reside." Art. ii. secures to them the same trading rights and privileges as the natives. Art. iii. is, however, the one which has a direct bearing on the New Orleans incident, and we copy the first clause of it in full. The second clause simply provides for the exemption of Italian residents here from compulsory service in the American army or navy, or in any judicial or municipal office:

> "The citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall receive in the States and Territories of the other the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and shall enjoy *in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or shall be granted to the natives, on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed on the natives.*"

Now, what would or could be done by the State and Federal Governments to punish such offences as the slaughter of the prisoners in the New Orleans jail, supposing the victims to have been natives? The State Government could have indictments presented to the Grand Jury by the District Attorney against such of the rioters as could be identified, for murder or manslaughter, and, if the Grand Jury found true bills, could have them prosecuted either to conviction or acquittal by a petty jury. Here its powers would be exhausted, and nothing could enlarge them except an amendment to the State Constitution. In addition to this, however, we presume the relatives of the slain could bring civil actions for damages against the county and also against individual rioters. We do not speak on this point with confidence because we have not the Louisiana law before us, but it is very certain that if the relatives can do this, they cannot do anything more than this. The county and the rioters may be liable to them in damages, and, if they are, the damages must be recovered in the courts by suits instituted and prosecuted by the relatives themselves. The State itself cannot be sued.

What can the United States do? Nothing more than the King of Italy himself. It cannot interfere forcibly in State affairs except on the demand of the Governor or Legislature. It has no jurisdiction of offences against person or property in the States. It could not assume it, except as the King of Italy might, by force of arms. Even if it had jurisdiction of such offences, it would have to punish them in precisely the same manner as the State—that is, it would have to have indictments found by the Grand Jury, and have the case tried before a petty jury, and, as all criminal offences triable in Federal Courts are, under the Constitution, triable only "by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed," these Federal juries would be composed of exactly the same material as the State juries.

All these peculiarities of our jurisprudence are things of which the Italian Government was aware when it made the treaty of 1871, and of which every foreigner who comes here for business or pleasure is bound to take note at his peril. Every traveller or sojourner must be assumed to have considered, before entering a foreign country, the various risks, whether political, physical, or legal, to which he would be exposed during his stay, whether through defects of the laws or the absence of law. But no civilized government ever acknowledges that the protection it supplies for the persons and property of its own citizens is not good enough for strangers.

Secretary Blaine's answer to Baron Fava is very neat and complete, and puts the whole case in a nutshell. It makes the position of the Italian Government difficult to comprehend. The Italy of to-day is very far away in matters of government from the old Italy of 1840, when any Italian Government could seize any man it pleased, and either expel him from the country, or clap him in prison for an indefinite period without trial. Italians understand and are practising with great success a government of law and liberty. An Italian cannot, under his own Constitution, be punished for anything without a trial by legal tribunals. We are surprised, therefore, to find the Marquis di Rudini maintaining "Italy's right to demand and obtain punishment of the New Orleans murderers" of the President. The President has, as we have just shown, no more power to punish murderers than the Marquis himself. Demands of this sort are, in fact, not now addressed to any but semi-barbarous Governments like Turkey, Morocco, Russia, and China, where the Executive can at any moment give a man a dozen, or send him to the mines for life by "administrative order." What constitutional governments are asked to do in case of injury to foreigners is to put the law in motion for the punishment of the offenders—not to guarantee a verdict of guilty. Considering, too, what foreigners have suffered, ever since the present kingdom of Italy was established, from Italian brigands, both in Sicily and on the mainland, through the inefficiency of the police and the courts and the demoralization of the population, it seems as if a less peremptory tone in demanding justice in this case would have been more becoming. The Marquis di Rudini could hardly have been sterner if he had been asking for justice against the murderers of two respectable Italian merchants or tourists, instead of two escaped cut-throats, whose landing in this country at all might fairly be considered an offence against its peace and dignity.

At the same time it will not do to ignore or deny the fact that the inability of the Federal Government to set on foot, in its own courts, prosecutions for injuries to foreigners, is a serious defect in the law. It ought to be able to order the indictment of the New Orleans rioters before its own Grand Jury, through its own District Attorney, try them before its own courts, and carry out the sentence through its own marshal. The Supreme Court has intimated that legislation for this purpose would be constitutional, and it ought to be one of the first pieces of work of the next Congress. We do not know what Mr. Blaine means when he says that "the United States has distinctly recognized the principle of indemnity to those Italian subjects who may have been wronged by a violation of the rights secured by the treaty with the United States of February 26, 1871." There was no such recognition in the case of the attack on Spaniards in New Orleans in 1850, or of the attack on the Chinese at Rock Springs in 1885. In the latter case an indemnity was voted, but it was expressly stated at the time that it was a matter of grace, not of right. In other words, any acknowledgment of "the principle" has been expressly guarded against by Mr. Webster and by Mr. Evarts and Mr. Bayard. But Congress will doubtless be willing to follow the Chinese precedent in this case and vote the money. We must add that Mr. Blaine, in his letter to Gov. Nicholls of March 15, immediately after the massacre, rather delivered himself, dialectically speaking, into the hands of the enemy, by asking the Governor to "coöperate with the President in maintaining the obligations of the United States towards Italian subjects" who might be exposed to further violence in New Orleans. There is not much difficulty in construing this into an acknowledgment that the President is, conjointly with the Governor, responsible for the peace of that city.

BRAZILIAN VIEWS OF THE TREATY.

WHILE the reciprocity arrangement with Brazil was being received in this country with comparative indifference, in Brazil it was exciting an agitation that has at times been violent. Feeling against President, or Dictator, Fonseca ran high, both on account of the nature of the treaty itself and the way in which it was negotiated. It was concluded as an arbitrary act of the "Provisional Government," with no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reference whatever to the Congress, just on the eve of the adoption of a Constitution which specifically requires all treaties to be submitted to the approval of the representatives of the people. The matter was brought up in the Constituent Congress on February 11, when two motions were made by prominent delegates calling for the suspension of the treaty until it could be acted upon by the Congress to be hereafter elected. These motions went over without action, as did another approving the treaty. But the general conviction appears to have been expressed by the *Jornal do Commercio*—a paper that approves the treaty, or at least wishes it given a fair trial—when it said, "The treaty should never have been negotiated in such a secret fashion, without consulting the views of the States or our commercial and industrial interests." Indeed, Fonseca's action in the premises, and his general disregard of the Congress, developed the unexpected and powerful opposition to his election to the Presidency, and the large minority vote for Prudente de Moraes shows how strong is the hostility to the policy of the Government. In fact, even since Fonseca's election this hostility has not subsided, and a meeting was held on March 13, attended by a large number of Senators, and Deputies, and journalists, at which it was resolved to publish a solemn protest against the proceedings of the Government—particularly against the treaty with the United States.

Turning to less official expressions of opinion, we find the manufacturing and commercial interests of the republic almost unanimous in opposition to the treaty. Protest after protest has been drawn up by industrial and commercial associations in different parts of the country, expressing alarm at the impending ruin of nascent or even established manufactures. The flouring-mills will have to close, their owners say. Sugar-refining will come to an end, say the men interested in that business. So, too, many branches of agriculture and fishery are in dread of the deadly competition of the United States. The organs of foreign capital in Brazil are, of course, dead against the treaty. The French merchants particularly are aroused, and it is announced that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs has already telegraphed a demand that the same concessions be made to French imports as to American. This was done at the urging of the French Chamber of Commerce for the Export Trade. On the other hand, the producers of sugar, coffee, hides, and rubber are well pleased. The *Diario de Pernambuco*, speaking for the sugar-growers of its State, says that "the patriotic Government of Brazil deserves the thanks of the country."

That the Government itself is disturbed at the general outcry, is clear from the labored defence of the treaty made in the *Diario Official*—a defence, it is safe to say, which will not be reproduced by our Department of State. This official organ of the Brazilian Government expresses its surprise that such a hubbub should have been stirred up over such a harmless affair. It goes on to recite the well-known figures of Brazilian-American trade, showing how much more the United States buy of Brazil than does Brazil of the United States. Then it adds that already the Brazilian tariff admits free of duty almost all the articles of American export which appear to be most favored by the treaty, such as wheat and machinery, It argues, further, that, in the case of the manufactured articles that are to have the advantage of 25 per cent. reduction from the general tariff rates, the effect upon the Brazilian market is going to be scarcely perceptible. This contention it proves, furthermore, by an array of figures in analysis of the exact effect to be expected from the reduction on American goods. It shows that this reduction applies mostly to articles now taxed at a comparatively low rate in the tariff—from 10 to 20 per cent.—and figures out the real reduction for American exports to be no more than from 3 to 9 per cent. on the total cost. Then it sums up as follows:

"Any one who knows the prices of the larger part of American products, and who will compare them with similar articles of European manufacture, will find no cause for alarm in the figures we have given, for although it is true that the treaty favors American merchandise, the difference is not enough to make up for the lower prices of European manufactures, and consequently the treaty will not perceptibly or permanently affect our commercial exchanges with Europe."

Very similar is the opinion of the *Rio News*, which says of cotton manufactures:

"In that particular, our English friends may rest content. The reduction of 25 per cent. will scarcely equalize the original cost to the importer, while the unwillingness of the North Americans to establish commercial houses in Brazil, and to give the customary credits, will destroy the very slight advantage given them by the treaty."

One curious feature of the whole discussion in Brazil is the entire oversight of the fact that we are really making no equivalent concessions to Brazilian exports. Everything that the so-called treaty declares shall be free of duty is made so for all the world by our general tariff. No one knows better than Minister Mendonça that the threat of taxing Brazilian exports by Presidential proclamation, in pursuance of the reciprocity clause in the McKinley Bill, is the merest *brutum fulmen*—especially since last November. In fact, this Brazilian agreement is precisely along the lines of a treaty which Mr. Blaine was prepared to negotiate in case the McKinley Bill did not make sugar free. When sugar was made free, and coffee, hides, and rubber were left free, it was supposed that the treaty had fallen to the ground, as there could no longer be any reason for it. Indeed, Minister Mendonça admitted as much. Why, then, it should have been reverted to in the form of a pure gift from Brazil is a mystery which has not yet been solved. It would not be strange if it should turn out to have been a *quid pro quo* on Fonseca's part, in return for his early recognition by our Government, or some other unknown consideration. What is perfectly clear is, that if it should prove to favor American trade to the extent that has been claimed for it, it will not be allowed to stand by the Brazilian Congress. If, on the other hand, it has no practical effect, as is most likely, it will be looked at with indifference both in Brazil and in Europe.

THE NEW COMMONWEALTH.

THE Federation Convention in Sydney, New South Wales, that has just virtually completed its labors by adopting the title of "The Commonwealth of Australia," grew out of the same desire that led to the work of the Philadelphia Convention in 1787—the desire for a more perfect union. The union effected by the act creating the Federal Council in 1885 was weak and inefficient. Not only were the powers of the Council extremely limited, but its membership did not include representatives of all the colonies. Although Southern Australia's reluctance to enter the confederation was soon overcome, that of New Zealand and New South Wales was more persistent. It was contended by the New Zealanders that the 1,200 miles separating them from the Australian continent made closer political connection with their sister colonies impracticable. They feared, too, that the movement was not altogether loyal to the mother country, and they did not wish to take a step that might result in severing their connection with the British crown. The reluctance of New South Wales had a different basis. This colony has pursued, with great advantage to herself, the policy of free trade; in the race for commercial supremacy she has outstripped her strong protectionist neighbor, Victoria. Her fear has been that if she became a member of the confederation, she might be compelled to abandon that part of her policy at least that gave her unrestricted trade with the outside world. Both of these colonies were induced, however, to send delegates to the Sydney Convention, which included delegates from Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania But it still remains to be seen whether the work of the Convention has broken the force of their objections, and whether they will enter the proposed confederation by assenting to the new Constitution.

So far as reported in the despatches to this country, this Constitution is modelled closely on that of the United States. There is a Senate having a territorial basis and a continuous existence; the members are elected for six years, one-half retiring every three years. The membership of the House is based on population and universal suffrage; the term is for three years. There is a Cabinet of seven members, who may sit in either house. The Executive is the appointee of the Crown, but his term of office is not fixed. The judicial system is similar to ours, except that there is an appeal from its decisions to the home Government. Although a desire was manifested in the debates in the Convention to use the Federal Council as a basis for the new government, it appears to have been regarded as too weak and inefficient to serve any useful purpose. It could take original action only on a few subjects, and on other subjects it could

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

act only when they had been referred to it by the legislatures of at least two States. It had no authority over the commercial relations of the colonies, and was powerless to levy taxes or make appropriations. Under the new Constitution, however, these two subjects are reserved to the National Assembly for original action. Should the Constitution be adopted, this Assembly will probably be called upon to solve the tariff question in such a way as to please Victoria and not offend New South Wales — a task that will undoubtedly tax its wisdom and patience to an extreme degree.

The formation of the Commonwealth, if successfully carried out, as it doubtless will be, foreshadows before many years trouble for both Germany and France in the Southern Pacific. The shortcomings of the mother country in that region which the colonies have felt most keenly have been her acquiescence in the occupation of half the great island of New Guinea by Germany, and her acquiescence in the possession of New Caledonia as a penal station by France. Both these islands are in Australian waters, and Australia owns one-half of New Guinea. Nothing can be more certain than that, as the new Commonwealth grows, notice to quit will be served on both France and Germany, and that somehow the power to enforce it will be provided. One of the many extraordinary things about this new republic is, that the warmth and dryness of the climate have apparently added to instead of diminishing the physical vigor and energy of the original stock. In every athletic sport, and especially in rowing and cricket, the Australians are fully a match for the English, and they occupy a foremost rank among the equestrian races of the world. They not only have the finest bucking horses in the world, but they have the men who can ride them best. That the Commonwealth will turn out as good soldiers and sailors as ever fought by land or sea, there is no doubt whatever, and any Power in the world which tries to stay in the Australasian seas against the will of Australians, when once they begin to feel themselves a nation, will have a very hard time.

THE MAFIA.

ROME, March 20, 1891.

THE recent tragedy at New Orleans furnishes a terrible commentary on the character of the Italian secret societies of which the chief are the Mafia in Sicily and the Camorra in Naples. The Mafia, under one designation or another, runs back into the middle ages. It then punished crimes against itself by the same standards that the Government established, with one exception—it had no degrees of penalty: death was the only punishment it could inflict. A man who had injured one of the Mafiosi had his hand cut off; if he had overheard the secrets of the association he had his ears cut off; and if he had seen too much he had the skin of his forehead flayed and turned down over his eyes—but these were only the tokens of the reasons for his removal: he was killed first and the mutilation was only the intimation to his friends. Under the Bourbons, no measures the civil authorities could employ had the least effect on the organization; its simplest form was brigandage and sequestration of the person, to be held to ransom, default of which implied death. Members of the Mafia in the cities kept watch on the movements of people of wealth, and sent messengers to their colleagues outside to give information of them, so that they might be taken with the least trouble, and the spies had their percentage of the ransom. When Sicily was annexed to Italy, the outlawry was increased by the addition of the partisans of the Bourbons, who pretended to be in insurrection. The disorders were suppressed by the bersaglieri, who scoured the country and tried by drum-head court-martial all the men they caught with arms, or who were accused of brigandage, and shot the condemned on the spot. Since the reëstablishment of the civil law in the island, there has been a slight recrudescence of the Mafia, and a few cases of sequestration of the person, but foreigners have been respected for the most part with great scrupulousness. Minor crimes are still to a large extent protected by the organization, but the policy of the Government has been one of steady legal pressure and change of venue to the continent for the trial of the criminals, and this is gradually paralyzing the Mafia.

The organization is probably stronger to-day in Louisiana than in Sicily, for the active pursuit of the actual offenders has driven many of the worst of them out of the country, and their best field of operations seems to have been our Southern States, whose climate agrees with their habits, and where wealth offers them attractions. It is well known in Italy that the dregs of the criminal population of Sicily and Naples are in Louisiana; and, transplanted to a new and almost virgin soil, where, too, a certain old infirmity of the law has predisposed to violence and short roads to justice, it was certain that the Mafia would become a danger to society. This is so well recognized by reasonable Italians that they admit a palliation for the summary justice of New Orleans, and acknowledge that the case is a difficult one to deal with by strictly lawful means. The first expressions of indignation were naturally very strong, but there is a moderation in the later comments due to the facts having come to knowledge and to previous acquaintance with the *teterrima causa* of conflict.

The flagrantly criminal character of a large portion of the Italian emigration to the Southern States is too well known here to permit their countrymen at home to doubt that the authorities at New Orleans have a knotty problem to deal with in the Mafia, and it is admitted that the extermination of the organization is necessary to order, and that the longer the efficient remedies are neglected the worse the evil will become. The only efficient remedy is the suppression of the Mafia. There is no question that at present the tendency of the criminal classes in the south of Italy, where those classes most abound, is to emigrate to the Southern States of America, and something might be done to check the influx by a law that every immigrant must be furnished with a passport in which his non-responsibility to the Italian law shall be stated and endorsed by the American consul at the port. Every emigrant from Sicily is suspicious, and the authorities, in default of any pressure on the part of the American Government, will take no precaution to prevent a known criminal from escaping to the United States, where he will give the Italian authorities no further trouble. This is natural, but the desire to protect the honest and industrious Italian emigrants to America may induce the King's Government to enter into arrangements which will secure this, and at the same time lead to the discovery of some of the criminals wanted for offences at home.

The honest Sicilian is an emigrant whose value to the United States is great, but the proportion of such in the mass of emigration is very small, and should be looked after. The late and present Prime Ministers of Italy are both Sicilians, as have been many of the ablest statesmen of Italy during the years since the annexation. I have been surprised, in making the acquaintance of the islanders and seeing their work, at their energy and administrative ability, so different from what we are accustomed to associate with the south-Italian mind; but the fact is that they are superior in this respect to the inhabitants of the southern provinces of the peninsula. This, coupled with their prolonged existence under the rule of the Bourbons, which was only the recognition of illegality and official robbery, is probably the cause of the long persistence of the conditions of brigandage and secret organization against the law which have obtained in the island. However this may be, I can assure the people of New Orleans that unless they take some radical measures against the Mafia *as such*, so as to make the belonging to it an offence against the law, they are not likely to suppress it, unless by expelling from the State all Italians—which is more difficult. X.

A DAY WITH FATHER NEWMAN.

MARLESFORD, ENG., March 18, 1891.

IN the autumn of 1859, while crossing the Atlantic from Liverpool to the United States, I made the acquaintance of a compatriot, Father T., who had then for some time been associated with the celebrated Dr. J. H. Newman, subsequently raised to the cardinalate. Both of us intended to return to England in the course of the next spring; and Father T. expressed a hope that, as he was pretty certain of preceding me, I would call on him at Edgbaston, if I chanced to take Birmingham on my way to Southampton and Calcutta.

The following March found me at Birmingham, whence, one morning, after an early breakfast, I drove out to Edgbaston. The servant who answered the bell at the oratory could tell me nothing about Father T., except that he was still away. Unsatisfied with this scanty information, I gave him my card, asking him to go and ascertain, if he could, something more definite. He came back with the message that Dr. Newman wished me to come in.

Despatching my errand to the famous Doctor as expeditiously as I was able, I was about to withdraw, when he requested me to be seated. I accepted his invitation. On my soon again offering to take my leave, I was once more politely detained by him, with the assurance that he was quite at leisure. I resumed my seat.

Since I had spoken of Father T. as my fellow-countryman, Dr. Newman was aware of my nationality. America, its people, and everything relating to both were, evidently, in spite of his perceptible antipathy to them, objects of interest to him. We talked on and on, he putting questions innumerable relative to them, and I replying to the best of my knowledge. Among the various Americans regarding whom he manifested curiosity, Dr. O. A. Brownson seemed to be foremost. Having read all the writings of that indefatigable and ingenious speculator, and being familiar with the history of his multifarious career, I had much to communicate which my interlocu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tor owned to be new to him. In time, however, our conversation turned to India, where, as I had incidentally mentioned, I had spent a good number of years, including the momentous period of the mutinies of 1857. It turned out that I was the only actual witness of Sepoy atrocities that he had met with; and, before we had done with the subject, he drew from me many particulars of horrors and sufferings which I desired, as I still in vain desire, should pass from my memory. But finally we got on the topic of Hindu philosophy, in the study of which I had of late been zealously engaged. To this my untiring interrogator pinned me for a full hour and more, when, just as I was protesting, with reference to something demanded of me, that the point would require a whole day to develop and expound satisfactorily, the bell rang for dinner. Pressed to accompany him and refresh myself, if I could be content with monastic fare, nothing loth, after the compulsory exhaustion I had undergone, I followed my host to the refectory.

The four sides of the refectory were wainscoted. Near two of them that formed an angle stood small detached tables, each for a single person, with a form behind. The company consisted of nine or ten Fathers of the Oratory and myself. Roast-beef, potatoes, bread, beer, and a plain pudding composed our meal. These were passed from the kitchen through an opening in one side of the room, and were handed round by one Father after another. While we were dining, as if the promotion of dyspepsia were a discipline of piety, strict silence was observed by all, and yet mental entertainment was considerately provided. Diagonally opposite to the corner where the rows of tables met was an ambo, perched in which a young man, habited priest-wise, read for our edification. First he gave us a chapter of the New Testament, of course from the Vulgate. Then followed, also in Latin, legends of several saints commemorated on the day that was passing. Last of all, we were treated to what I recognized as from Carlyle's 'French Revolution.' To that work, certainly, as to many others by the same pyrotechnic rhapsodist, the remark of Lord Macaulay is applicable, that its author "might as well write in Irving's unknown tongue, at once." It appeared to me, then, in no wise singular that Dr. Newman, with his critical sense of good English, after listening for a few minutes to the uncouth and spasmodic jargon that was stunning us, put up his hand, impatiently exclaiming "Sufficit." Carlyle being thus summarily dismissed, we finished our repast without a word spoken by any one.

Thanks being duly transacted, Dr. Newman informed me that "recreation" was next in order. Naturally enough, the term set me conjecturing. I thought of leap-frog, summersaults, hide-and-seek, and sundry other guileless diversions of like kind, though only to reject the idea of them, in favour of no idea whatever. But I was not long held in suspense. Headed by the Doctor, we proceeded to a spacious apartment where a large grate was in full blaze. In front of the fire, chairs were disposed in a semi-circle. We took our seats; and I soon discovered that the "recreation" of my solemn companions was general conversation. And very much indeed, both as to topics and as to tone, was it the conversation of the profane world. Through an aperture in one side of the room, just as in the refectory, creature-comforts were handed in for us; only they were now merely supplementary tea and biscuits. All the waiting was done by Dr. Newman. There being no novelty to me in experience of "the pride that apes humility," so often discernible in professional nuggets of the salt of the earth, this ostentatious exhibition of servitorship did not, I confess, affect me agreeably. Nor did I see anything to admire in an incident which happened while we were sipping our tea. One of the Fathers, finding his cup unpalatable, made a wry face, on noticing which, Dr. Newman seized the cup, and insisted on bringing him another, at the same time patting the fastidious shaveling on the shoulder, and coaxing him, precisely as if he were a little girl in a pet.

The "recreation" in which I participated was, in part, not such as I would have chosen. For many years I had then been accustomed, as I have been accustomed still more years since, to be regarded, because of being an obscure American, as, at best, an anthropical or anthropoidal phenomenon, a creature that must needs speak barbarously, that knew nothing, and that could have no ideas, principles, or aims but the most reprehensible and sordid. When cast among persons who, by their interrogatories or comments, have plainly signified that such was their preconceived estimate of me, I have always been as sparing of speech as was practicable, and, consequently, have been the more free to listen and to reflect. And so it was on the occasion in question. I learned much more from my opinionated inquisitors than they learned from me. And one of the things which I learned was, that Englishmen, in changing from Protestants to Romanists, are the same as ever in the article of ignorance touching Americans, and in the contempt for them which, even to this hour, forms a conventional feature of British tuition. With the patience which abundant demand for practice of it had made easy to me, I once more underwent a diatribe on what were taken for granted to be, without gainsay, the blemishes and shortcomings of my countrymen.

Daylight was disappearing before I left the Oratorians. The impression which they produced on me I lost no time in committing to paper, so that, in recounting it, I am not obliged to depend on recollection. Everything that had passed before me bore, to my apprehension, the stamp of intellectual obliquity, ethical emasculation, grimace, hollowness, or histrionism. All was unreal, and almost all looked insincere. It seemed strange to me, in particular, if Dr. Newman could lastingly influence, in the least degree, any but those who, what between ill-starred idiosyncrasy and irrational tutoring, had ripened into sentimental visionaries and enthusiasts. His allies were, manifestly, men of the same mould as himself; and his deliverance of some morbid half-poetical fancy, or subtile sophism, was what especially excited their delight and elicited their applause. That, like their leader, they were persons grown incapable of seeing truth in a dry light, and that they saw it through a haze of fantastic theory and refracting prejudice, was, to me, a lifelong student of theology, but, for all that, still an unresolved investigator, palpable beyond all mistaking. I had read and reread all that Dr. Newman had published; and the man himself was just what I expected from the author. Lord Macaulay, in one of his Speeches, aptly characterizes the jesuitical "Tract Number Ninety" as "a set of quibbles, under cover of which a divine may hold the worst doctrines of the Church of Rome, and may hold with them the best benefice of the Church of England." The concoctor of that Tract did not, when I was brought face to face with him, disappoint me at all in his favour.

As many are well aware, Mr. Charles Kingsley could easily have produced, if he had but had the patience to search long enough, repeated proofs of the grave disingenuousness which he laid at the door of Dr. Newman. One such proof, unless I am greatly mistaken, offers itself in what is about to be cited, namely, a passage occurring in p. 21 of Dr. Newman's 'Callista,' published in 1856:

"Under the cross were two or three pictures, or, rather, sketches. In the centre stood the Blessed Virgin, with hands spread out in prayer, attended by the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, on her right and left. Under this representation were rudely scratched upon the walls the words 'Advocata nostra,' a title which the earliest antiquity bestows upon her."

An eminent doctor of divinity was once inspired to discharge his spleen on me, as an American, because I approved of the measures taken to restore the integrity of the Union. One day, in conversation with this profound scholar, laying before him the words just quoted, I remarked that the phrase "earliest antiquity" could not there possibly point to any age later than the paulopost-apostolic, and added that, to the best I could discover, the term *advocata* was, at that period, altogether unknown. What ground, then, I went on to ask, was there for the allegation that the primitive Christians gave to the mother of Jesus the epithet "our advocate"? And how, if there was irrecusable authority for that designation of her, could a Protestant that supplemented the New Testament by other recorded traditions deny that he ought to enter the Roman communion? My interlocutor, who had long been an intimate friend of Dr. Newman, gave me no reply. I pressed him for one; and at last he angrily silenced me by saying that I was to submit my difficulty to some one else. If I failed to draw other than uncomplimentary inferences from this evasiveness, it was not for want of trying.

"It may be almost laid down as an historical fact, that the mystical interpretation and orthodoxy will stand or fall together." So writes Dr. Newman, in his 'Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine'; and the passage is noteworthy, for we see in it a man who deems himself not far from being a prophet, and who, as an arbitrary fantast, takes rank with Origen and Jacob Boehme. Nor did the public misapprehend that he was what he was. Nevertheless, the grief and veneration which, on the announcement of his death, found expression in the English press, could have been foreseen. Those who knew him best have all concurred in representing him as distinguished, constitutionally, by melancholy, superstition, and unreasoning self-will; and he was, thus, except as to his mysticism, typically English. And again, he had rendered himself famous. In our own time, more than was ever the case before, his countrymen stand conspicuous as hero-worshippers; and in him they recognized a hero preëminently sharing their national characteristics. And this was enough to secure for him their reverent homage, though millions of them could not but acknowledge that his aspirations were such as, if realized, would go far to extinguish genuine enlightenment, and would operate to enslave the world once more to the execrable tyranny and the ridiculous mummeries of mendacious and self-seeking priestcraft. F. H.

COLUMBIANA.

FLORENCE, March, 1891.

AT Genoa and here I have been made cognizant of the interest which Italy is of right taking in the approaching anniversary of the discovery of America. I had an interview at Genoa with some of the gentlemen engaged in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the effort which the Italian Government is now committed to make in demonstration of the leading position which Italians gained in the earliest stages of the development of American geography. Every student of that period is impressed with the uncompensated mastery which fell to the lot of Italy in those days, in that she contributed Columbus and Cabot, Vespucius and Verrazzano to the solution of the great cosmographical problem, while she failed to acquire a foothold in the land. It is to make this more abundantly evident that the Italian Government has now planned the publication of a treasury of documentary proofs in indication of her almost supreme share in the great discovery.

While in Paris, I saw in the study of Henry Harrisse the annotations which he had prepared on the 175 documents illustrative of Columbus which are to constitute a section of the great work. It was some time since announced that he was to have the care of this portion on Columbus. It will be remembered that, a year or two ago, Harrisse addressed an open letter to the Government at Rome, urging the official publication of these documents as Italy's contribution to the literature of the coming anniversary. That Government has accepted the suggestion; but, as I have said, it has enlarged its scope by associating with the labors of Columbus those of the other great navigators, which made the part of Italy so conspicuous in the discoveries of that time.

The great need which the student now feels of further elucidation in respect to the career of Columbus is the recovery of the diplomatic correspondence of Spain and Portugal with the Papal Court, which led to the bull of demarcation in 1493. It has long been supposed that the archives of the Vatican would reveal something. The truth is, that, though the doors of that repository have been of late years left ajar, the student makes his researches there under the utmost difficulties. No official warrant gives its bearer unrestricted access, and all that the inquirer can do is to indicate what he wants, and let the custodians, who have no catalogue to aid them, bring what inclination, leisure, or acuteness prompts them to discover. Research by the student himself is in no valid sense yet permissible. Harrisse tells me that he has done the best he could under such restraints to profit from the resources of the Vatican, and he feels quite sure that there are still preserved there no maps or other important papers illustrating the bull of 1493, further than are already known.

The few scholars interested in this field to the extent of appreciating Harrisse's best labors may indeed be counted almost on your fingers, and one could name two or three in Germany and perhaps as many in America, and possibly one or two in France and England. This small body of students have followed his traces, not only in his various monographs, but in sundry periodicals of France, Italy, and Spain for a score of years or more, and know pretty well what he has been doing. His work has no quality for popular recognition, and there has been no demand to translate his studies into English so that his countrymen—for he is an American citizen—could generally appreciate his labors. It will be remembered that, in his 'Vie de Colomb,' he had indicated that he had prepared a full bibliography of the works which had been written exclusively upon Columbus, then numbering about 600. The MS. has since been enlarged and waits now for publication.

Any one who has dealt with the history of the earlier voyages to America, say before 1550—or better before 1525—knows how much depends, in settling some of the questions which surround them, upon the identification of persons often met with in the accounts under names difficult to distinguish. The studies of Harrisse have been helped by the registration which he has been accustomed to make of all these recurrent names, with a reference to the document which contains each one. This material, alphabetized and unified, would be a valuable companion for any students in this field, and it is to be hoped that a publisher can be found for it, as Harrisse has now got it arranged.

The work upon which his attention is now chiefly turned is a history of the discovery of North America. His earlier books on the Cabots, Cortereal, and other of the earliest explorers can be found in a few of our larger libraries, but they have failed of their full purpose, for the reason that what in them attracted a few students rendered an English version of them unadvisable in a publisher's eyes. An English publisher has at last risked the undertaking, and Harrisse is now sending through the press in English a large book which will embrace the material of his earlier French publications, reworked and amplified. I find in talking with him that he expects to have competent critics acknowledge that he has in good measure placed a new significance on much of this early history. He expects that it will be seen that Sebastian Cabot is not deserving of all that has been assigned to him, and that the map in gores which Henry Stevens brought forward a few years ago, as a newly discovered map of Schoner of 1523, and upon which that writer based beliefs which he claimed to be new, was indeed no such map as Stevens had represented. With the map discarded, as Harrisse insists it should be, the theory which Stevens, with his usual airs of superiority, maintained, falls to the ground. Students will eagerly wait to see if this catastrophe to Stevens's critical sagacity is really to happen.

When in London, some weeks ago, I saw at Quaritch's shop the single copy of the folio edition of the Spanish text of Columbus's first letter, which has been recently discovered; and that dealer also gave me the opportunity of going over the evidences that what is claimed as a new quarto edition of the same text is in reality a forgery of a nature to permit various other copies of the same fabrication, now lurking somewhere, to be unearthed again with the same appearance of chance discovery. The copy already made known was somewhat boldly facsimiled in a little publication by the same dealers, so that those suspicious of its genuineness have had something to work upon in their investigations. The alleged original has gone into a collector's library in America. I find that Harrisse has been investigating this dubious edition independently, reaching the same conclusion. He has had photographs made of certain pages of the copy in the Ambrosian Library at Milan—the only Spanish printed text known till recently—but he finds that the fabricators worked not on this copy (as indeed the custodian of that library is willing to swear, since it has not been out of his custody), but upon the facsimile edition of it which was published some years ago. It is claimed by Harrisse that the forgers have in sundry ways been ensnared by the tendencies to which such adventurous inclinations are sure to lead. As I looked upon the proofs of the forgery, both in Paris and in London, there seemed scarcely a doubt that a respectable London dealer unwittingly lent himself to a deceit. I saw the only copy which the makers have as yet dared to put upon the market, when an agent of the London firm laid it before me a year or two ago at Cambridge, Mass.; but he found a purchaser elsewhere.

When at Mentone, I went, by Mr. Hanbury's invitation, to visit his famous garden at La Mortola, just over the Italian line, which has been called the finest private garden in Europe, with its almost unprecedented array of trees and plants brought from every quarter of the globe, and selected for their ability to thrive in the open air in this sheltered nook of the Riviera. I felt the presence of Columbus even in this vestibule of the great peninsula. As Mr. Hanbury led me into his house, he told me that its roof had sheltered those who were born before the great navigator, and on the walls of its porch he had placed a beautiful Florentine mosaic of Marco Polo, which seemed to promote the illusion. His reason for commemorating that traveller was that he was the earliest to bring back from Cathay descriptions of the plants which glorify the East, and which he could point out to me as growing before my eyes. I sooner, however, associated the great Venetian traveller with that account of his travels in Asia written after his return from his long sojourn there, and while imprisoned in the building which the other day I still looked upon in Genoa. It could not be forgotten by any one who knew of that copy of Marco Polo which is preserved in Seville, and marked with annotations in manuscript ascribed to Columbus himself, that the strange marvels of the 'Milione' had had much to do with fostering the adventuresome dreams of the Genoese navigator. As Mr. Hanbury took me to a spot in his grounds where, from a bridge that spanned the chasm, I looked down into a remaining bit of the old and narrow lane, shut in by crumbling and ancient walls, which is all that is here left of the road along the Riviera which the Romans traversed, which Dante describes, and which even Napoleon was not too late to follow when he marched his troops into Italy, I even fancied that Columbus might have thridded its windings along these slopes, either, perchance, when his mule took him from Italy to seek his fortunes among the more western maritime peoples, or when, it may be, he returned by the same route to seek to interest the Genoese in his purposes. There is an interval from 1473 to 1487 when no one can say with absolute certainty where Columbus was or what he was doing, or on what date any supposable venture may be connected with his name. This gives the license which prompted my musings in Mr. Hanbury's garden.

One sees to-day in the municipal palace at Genoa, in the Council Chamber of its Government, and adorning its walls on either side, two superb specimens of the art of the mosaic-maker. One is a portrait of Columbus and the other of Marco Polo. They were the gift of Venice to Genoa in commemoration of the union under which Victor Emanuel and Cavour brought at last the native places of these two great discoverers, and they were fitly associated together in that hour of jubilant patriotism, for Italy in the one had splashed the waters that laved the shores of Cathay, and in the other she had seen the reflections of the tropical verdure of the Antilles.

There are some students of Columbus's career, now in Genoa, who have worked assiduously of late years in delving among the old archives of Liguria, particularly in the notarial records of Genoa and Savona; and foremost among them is probably to be placed the Marquis Marcello Staglieno. Some of them, together with other antiquaries of Rome and Venice, constitute the Committee now royally

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

charged with the publication of the great documentary work of which I have already made mention. I had in Genoa two interviews with the Cavaliere Cornelio Desimoni, to whom is intrusted the part of this great collection which is to be given to Verrazzano, and whose publications on that navigator some years since procured him recognition among American students of that somewhat obscure theme. There was at one time, after the late Henry C. Murphy had privately printed his iconoclastic monograph on the subject, a tendency to treat the voyage of Verrazzano along our Atlantic seaboard as a myth, and George Bancroft fell into the humor and left out all mention of the voyage in his first revised edition, and did not restore it in the last edition. But the faith of Carson Brevoort, as manifested in his treatise on the voyage, the later exposition of De Costa, and particularly the two publications of Desimoni, when they became known in America, furnished rallying points for the believers; and the map of Maiollo, which Desimoni first made known as among the treasures of the Ambrosian Library, as well as the chart of Hieronymus Verrazzano, have of late years rehabilitated the old story, as detailed in the letter addressed to Francis I. Desimoni tells me that he shall in the new publication repeat all his earlier results, and put the record in shape with something of a final stamp.

I cannot feel sure that all the investigations of Staglieno and others have made it quite certain where Columbus was born, further than it was within the corporate precincts of Genoa. All claims for other regions must surely be dismissed; and there could hardly be a neater bit of antiquarian skill than that which has demonstrated that Columbus's father lived, in the navigator's childhood, in a house which still stands in the narrow Vico Dritto Ponticello, where the tall houses shut out the light far above the passer, in a quarter of the town then frequented by the workers in wool, and near one of the remaining old city gates. The house bears a marble tablet explaining its interest. It is a very narrow structure, two small windows taking a good share of its breadth; and when I saw it the other day the lower story was boarded up, as if some structural changes were going on within. In one of the open spaces not far distant I noticed among the placards on the walls that a play of "Cristoforo Colombo" was announced at one of the theatres in Genoa, and that the public were asked to attend a lecture soon to be delivered upon his career.

The newspapers announced the other day that a portrait of Columbus had just been brought to light in the possession of a family which had acquired it when the gallery was broken up which the historian Paolo Giovio had gathered in his villa on Lake Como. I know nothing more of this alleged discovery than the press has given; but I do not find that the story of such a discovery is credited by such Italian scholars as I have met. That Paolo Giovio—I looked yesterday on his mural statue in the cloisters of San Lorenzo—possessed a likeness of Columbus, and perhaps more than one, which he had added to his collection of Italian celebrities, admits of proof both from the mention of it by contemporaries and from the woodcut bust likeness which he included in his 'Elogia,' published at Florence in 1551, five and forty years after Columbus's death. Giovio could never have seen Columbus, and his collection of portraits could not have been painted for him till long after the great navigator had died. The authenticity of any such likeness is therefore far from proved, and no one has ventured to trace even a story of probability. Indeed, it is far from demonstrable that any likeness whatever was ever painted of the famous Genoese, and there was certainly no period except the few months following his return from his first voyage when there could have been any popular interest in such a picture. Further, there are very few examples of portraits dating back to the later days of the fifteenth century, which have come down to us, and we have no contemporary evidence of any such likeness of Columbus. Still, the known existence of the Giovio picture has instigated many people since that day to associate some canvas or other with it, and the present story of a new discovery of such a likeness is probably due to a new impulse of the same sort, having little more than a fanciful basis.

One looks eagerly for associations with Columbus in Florence, and it is not found more vividly than in the Duomo when we stand beside the meridian line which Toscanelli drew here a few years before he replied to the letter of Columbus, and confirmed the unknown Genoese in the portentous belief that was slowly fructifying in his mind. I could not look to-day on the statue of Vespucius, which stands among the Florentian worthies in the court of the Uffizi, without thinking of that letter which he addressed to his friend in Florence, and which, falling into the hands of that little circle of geographical students at St. Dié, led to the placing of the name of a Florentine upon the Western continent.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

Correspondence.

EGYPTIAN DISCOVERY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You may be glad to know of a recent discovery in Egypt made by Mr. Petrie on Wednesday, March 11. He has found at Maydoom the oldest known Egyptian temple and the only Pyramid temple ever found. It is also the only temple of the Old Empire so far known, aside from the "Temple of the Sphinx" at Ghizeh. The building was buried under about forty feet of rubbish (detritus fallen from the Pyramid), and lies directly at the centre of its eastern base, with two round-topped obelisks on the side facing the Pyramid. Obelisks and temple chambers so far entered have the plain undecorated style of the Old Empire, as shown by the Temple of the Sphinx, but hieratic inscriptions in black paint found within fix the name of Seneferoo as builder, and confirm the supposition to this effect hitherto based on the fact that tombs near the Pyramid contain his cartouche. Seneferoo is the king connecting the Third and Fourth Dynasties, and variously placed in either. According to computations of Mariette and Brugsch, the antiquity will be about 4000 B. C., or earlier.

I was visiting Mr. Petrie on the day of the discovery, and he thought then that about two weeks would be required to uncover the temple and ascertain its plan. On the day preceding, the workmen had reached a platform which then appeared to be a causeway terminating with two obelisks at the base of the Pyramid. In the forenoon of Wednesday a workman came to say that an opening had been found under the platform on the side next the Pyramid. This proved to be the top of a doorway choked by detritus, through which Mr. Petrie crawled into an interior of three chambers and discovered the inscriptions mentioned. I had the pleasure of following him. Mr. Petrie thought the apartments had not been previously entered for about three thousand years—that is to say, that the rubbish fallen from the Pyramid had choked the entrance about three thousand years after construction. A friend who was with me noticed on the floor some dried wisps of papyrus, a plant now extinct in Egypt. The chambers thus far found are so filled up that one cannot stand erect in them, and a door at the end of the third chamber is blocked by large stones. Over all lies an enormous mass of detritus whose removal by Arab diggers is now in progress. I had the pleasure next day of carrying the news of Mr. Petrie's find to the gentlemen of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Beni-Hassan, and of witnessing their unaffected delight over it.

Mr. Petrie was good enough to make me acquainted with some of the results of his season's work at Maydoom. They continue for the Fourth Dynasty the observations which he began at Kahun for the Twelfth Dynasty regarding the use of stone implements in Egypt, and are of the first importance for the connection between the "bronze culture" and the age of stone implements in Egypt. Mr. Petrie is the first to make systematic or important observations on this head, as his publication of 'Kahun' sufficiently shows. As it is his habit to publish every season the results of his work for the given season, I will not attempt to anticipate his matter as regards detail.

I am, sir, respectfully yours,

WM. HENRY GOODYEAR.

KENEH, UPPER EGYPT, March 17, 1891.

Notes.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS have in press 'The Peace of the Church,' six lectures by the Rev. W. R. Huntington; 'The Water Devil, and Other Stories,' by Frank R. Stockton; 'Money: Its Use and Abuse,' by W. Cunningham, in the University Extension series of manuals; and 'Marie Louise, the Return from Elba, and the Hundred Days,' from the French of Imbert de St. Amand.

Forthcoming from the Messrs. Harper are 'Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers,' by Amelia B. Edwards, being the substance of her lectures in this country; 'Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration,' by Lucius E. Chittenden, formerly Register of the United States Treasury; 'What to Eat and How to Serve It,' by Mrs. Christine Terhune Herrick; and 'A Box of Monkeys, and Other Farces,' by Grace Livingston Furniss.

G. P. Putnam's Sons will publish 'Practical Landscape Gardening,' by Samuel Parsons, jr.; 'A Year in Portugal,' by Dr. George B. Loring, late United States Minister to that country; and 'Recollections and Impressions, 1822-1890,' by O. B. Frothingham. They have also in press a fifth edition of the Rev. J. W. Chadwick's 'Bible of To-day,' with new prefatory matter indicating the advance of criticism since the publication of the first edition in 1878.

'A History of Sicily,' by Edward A. Freeman, and Seyffert's 'Dictionary of Classical Antiquities,' translated by Prof. Nettleship, are announced by Macmillan & Co.

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, will shortly issue an 'Introduction to Modern French Lyrics,' by Prof. B. L. Bowen of Ohio State University.

Mr. Thomas Willing Balch is about to publish, through Porter & Coates in Philadelphia, a translation of a book published in French by his father, the late Thomas Balch, in Paris, in 1872, 'The French in America during the War

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Independence of the United States, 1777-1783.' It is an account of the part taken by the French corps under Rochambeau, largely drawn from hitherto inedited material. Miss Balch printed in the *Magazine of American History*, in 1877, a translation of an unpublished memoir by the Prince de Broglie, who was here with Lauzun; and her brother proposes following his translation of his father's book with another volume giving the accounts written by Dupetit Thouars and others, and a curious collection of Loyalists' Letters, thus adding to our knowledge of the other side in the struggle for independence.

'Ring Riding,' a collection of movements and commands designed for the use of riding-schools and riding-clubs, by Henry W. Struss (D. Appleton & Co.), is a beautifully printed and illustrated little volume. It is exactly what its name implies—a collection of commands—and is not, therefore, a book for reading. But the author has shown admirable judgment in the directions which he has given, both at the beginning and at the end. These are few, but they are plain and simple, and show good sense and a thorough knowledge of his subject. The volume is dedicated to the New York Riding Club, of which the author is a member. The plates illustrating the different movements, 142 in number, are so clear that no one need have any difficulty in seeing for himself how the different evolutions will appear in actual performance. Altogether, the whole thing is thorough, and the paper and style of printing leave nothing to be desired.

Prof. W. G. Hale's 'Art of Reading Latin: How to Teach it' has found an admirer in Prof. J. Keelhoff, professor in the Athénée Royal at Tongres, Belgium, who has obtained leave to translate it. It now appears as 'L'Art de lire le Latin: Comment il faut l'enseigner' (Mons: Hector Manceaux). Prof. Keelhoff pays the further tribute to the Cornell professor of Latin by regarding this little treatise as of real value in the unequal combat the study of the classics is now waging with the modern spirit. In one of his numerous footnotes he mentions the fact that Prof. Hale's 'The *Cum* Constructions' is about to appear in a German translation (Teubner).

Dr. Karl Krumbacher, Privatdocent of Modern Greek in the University of Munich, has published a volume entitled 'Geschichte der byzantischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches, 527-1453,' in which he gives an admirable sketch of a hitherto rather neglected period of literary history. One is inclined to think of Byzantine literature as chiefly theological and decidedly polemical in character, and consisting, for the most part, of the controversial writings of iconoclasts and iconolaters, who vie with each other in venting sectarian bitterness and personal abuse. But this is true only of what might be called the Byzantine dark ages, extending from the middle of the seventh to the beginning of the ninth century, and followed by a renaissance which bore its richest fruits in the twelfth century. The man who contributed most to this revival of letters was the statesman and courtier Michael Psellos, a writer of keen intellect, remarkable versatility, and vast learning, but excessively vain and utterly selfish and servile—a combination of great and mean qualities, says Krumbacher, which we find five centuries later incarnated anew in Lord Bacon. Krumbacher is exceedingly enthusiastic in praise of Romanós, whom he characterizes as "the greatest sacred poet (*Kirchendichter*) of all ages," and thinks that this foremost place will be assigned to him by "the literary history of the future." The two best manuscripts of Romanós's sacred lyrics are preserved in the library of St. John's cloister on the island of Patmos, where they were copied by Krumbacher some years ago with the intention of publishing a complete edition of his poems.

The *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokio* (Band v, Heft 45, Feb., 1891) contains an interesting and scholarly article by Dr. Ludwig Riess on the "Aufstand von Shimbara, 1637-1638." This was a tragic uprising of Japanese Christians against their persecutors, the heathen rulers. Shimbara had been the centre of Christian life in Japan during the last years of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth century. After enduring many oppressions the Christians revolted. They were besieged for several weeks in Shimbara. At length, in April, 1638, their stronghold was captured. The rebels were slain without mercy, the order having been given that "no Christian should be left alive, neither man, nor woman, nor child, nor sucking babe." In all, 20,000 Christians lost their lives during this rebellion. The besiegers lost about 3,000 men. The suppression of this revolt was the death-blow to Christianity in Japan; it also occasioned the rigid exclusion of the foreign element from Japan's inner life for more than two centuries. Professional narrators ("hanashika") still recount the history of this uprising to the people in the halls of Japan. Dr. Riess gives us the first full critical account of the remarkable event.

Dr. Geo. E. Ellis's "Recollections of Round Hill School," in the April number of the *Educational Review*, convey the impressions made on a boy of twelve by the two principals, Messrs. Cogswell and Bancroft, with a decided preference for the former in the relation of a teacher. One can hardly differ from Dr. Ellis's conclusion that the opposite temperaments and constant variances of these partners had more to do with the school's failure than anything else: Cogswell "always intent on his duty," and Bancroft "apt to be engrossed in some book of his own," near-sighted and hence the target for school-room and even vegetable-garden missiles, distraught and hence eccentric in dress—"the Crittur," in the familiar speech of the pupils.

Prof. Felix E. Schelling issues in the Publications of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press) a paper about 100 pages in length upon the 'Poetic and Verse Criticism of the Reign of Elizabeth.' It is conceived in the style of a German monograph and characterized principally by its fulness of research. The volumes dealt with are not many, but they are more or less obscure, and the questions raised in them regarding the fitness of English for classical measures and the validity of the old English habits of metrical composition are interesting to the student. The main subject, that of the experiments of Gabriel Harvey, Spenser, and Sir Philip Sidney, has often been treated, and its features are generally well known to students of our literature; but in this volume there is a convenient résumé of the remarks on English versification by Gascoigne, Webbe, Puttenham, Campion, and Daniel, with some notes on Gosson and Lodge in connection with Sidney's 'Apology.' The paper shows more capacity for learning than for literary criticism, but, within its range, is thorough, painstaking, and scholarly. The lack of any table of contents, or headings to the divisions of the text, or index of contents is an inexcusable blemish in a work which might otherwise be useful for reference.

Mr. Henry F. Waters's "Genealogical Gleanings in England" in the April number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* deal with the wills of benefactors of Harvard College. The Holworthy connection is developed in Mr. Waters's characteristic manner by means of abstracts of wills of sundry merchants, gentlemen, and knights of the name, as well as of collateral Mans, Kitchens, Colstons, Pitts, Havilands, Fowneses, and Launces. Other benefactors thus brought to view are Pennoyers, Disbrowes, Hobsons, Foords, Bridgeses, Hultons, and Holdens.

We have on our table the first number of *Engineering*, a popular illustrated monthly magazine "devoted to industrial progress" and published in this city. Its contents are decidedly readable. Ten signed papers by contributors are followed by summaries of current intelligence under the headings Civil Engineering, Architecture, Electricity, Mining and Metallurgy, Mechanics, and Popular Miscellany. We acknowledge also the April number of Mr. Stead's *Review of Reviews* in the American issue edited "coöperatively" by Mr. Albert Shaw. The mechanical execution appears to be better than in the case of the English edition.

The April number of *Sun and Shade* (N. Y. Photo-Gravure Co.) has for its most noticeable plates a portrait of Gen. Sherman, and three very interesting and truly picturesque views of positions held by both sides in the battle of Gettysburg.

Prof. A. de Gubernatis's 'Dictionnaire International des Écrivains du Jour' (Florence: Louis Niccolai) comes to an end with the nineteenth *livraison*, which has a considerable list of additions and corrections, and another of the writers who have died during the progress of the work. We have not been able to praise this dictionary as we could have wished, but, with all its imperfections, it is still, if only in virtue of its recent date and its inclusiveness, a book of reference which most libraries will feel bound to procure and which will be of great convenience to journalists.

The Russian Empire is twice mapped in the twenty-eighth part of the new Stieler's Atlas (Westermann); once by itself and once as a portion of the Asiatic continent. The third plate represents the Ægean Sea and Archipelago.

The departure of Sir Henry Loch, the High Commissioner of South Africa, and Mr. Rhodes, the Premier of Cape Colony, who have been consulting with Lord Salisbury in regard to the relations of Portugal and Great Britain in South Africa, and of the South African colonies to the mother country, enables the London *Times* to summarize the outcome of the negotiations. There is reason to believe that no compromise or concessions will be made to Portugal, and that the abortive agreement of August 20, 1890, will remain in force until it lapses on May 20, "except that the 33d degree east of Greenwich has been laid down as the limit on the Manica side, with the exception of a patch at Massi Kessé." To this arrangement the Portuguese ambassador is ready to agree, but, so far, the Lisbon Ministry have declined to give their assent. It is very distinctly intimated that if Portugal should endeavor to prevent the passage of miners and settlers through her territory to Mashonaland, it will be of no avail, and that within two years a railroad to connect this country with the east coast will be well on the way, with or without Portugal's consent. Nothing definite can be said yet in regard to the gold resources of this region, as stamping ma-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chinery has not been put in operation. But other enterprises, as sheep and cattle-raising, have been introduced, with every prospect of ultimate success, as much of the plateau is fine grazing land. South of the Zambesi the country is under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner. Northern Zambesia, as far as the German sphere of influence and the Congo Free State, Mr. H. H. Johnston, the well-known traveller, will administer as an imperial officer.

Macmillan & Bowes, Cambridge, England, send us Part A of a 'Catalogue of Books Printed at or Relating to the University, Town, or County of Cambridge,' which they have been collecting for nearly twenty years and would now prefer to sell *en bloc*. As far as it goes the list has been made bibliographically full so as to be valuable for its own sake. There are 347 numbers.

A Summer School of Applied Ethics is to be held for six weeks, beginning in July, at some summer resort in New England or New York, not yet designated, with a view to the "wants of clergymen, teachers, journalists, philanthropists, and others." The dean of the school is Prof. H. C. Adams of the University of Michigan, with address at 1602 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, who will have charge of the Department of Economics, delivering eighteen lectures himself. Prof. Toy of Harvard will preside over the history of religions, and Prof. Felix Adler over ethics. The outlook for solid intellectual profit is, considering the collaboration (which we cannot specify here), extremely promising.

—We said last week, apropos of the piracy of Bryce's 'American Commonwealth,' that "Funk & Wagnalls have . . . come out in competition with Sergel & Co.," the Chicago marauders. This is true, but in a sense different from what we intended, for our better information shows that the New York firm is pushing a cheap *authorized* edition by an arrangement with Mr. Bryce's publishers. It is needless to say that we regret our error, but our readers are well aware of the reasons which made it both possible and natural to think Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls capable of the action imputed to them.

—Nearly one-half of the April number of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* is given up to the Residualists. These are a class of economists (they can hardly be called a school as yet) who seek to weigh and measure rent, wages, interest and profits as the mathematician arrives at the value of three or more unknown quantities, by elimination. Ricardo led the way in this field; and his conclusion, that wages and profits are the leavings of each other, is perhaps the least satisfactory of his theses. To Gen. Walker belongs the credit of starting the modern class of Residualists, and it is a peculiarity of the class that most of those who have entered it have applied themselves to the task of overthrowing the positions of its founder, while following his methods. A few people may understand these discussions, but fewer, we think, can enjoy them. We are very sure that political economy gains nothing in popular appreciation by them. In the "Notes and Memoranda," Mr. Hugo Bilgram complains of Prof. Giddings's obscurity of language, and Prof. Simon N. Patten complains of his own, which he ascribes to the paucity of economic terms. No such difficulty presents itself to Prof. John B. Clark, who concludes his paper on "Distribution as Determined by Rent" with these words:

"Here again we are nearing deep water. We can see that the sacrifice of deferring enjoyment is, like that of labor itself, a second basis for measuring values. Every subjective utility has its equivalent of the one kind as well as of the other; and the psychological currency that ultimately measures all values is inherently bimetallic. It is composed of two disutilities, both of which are distinctively social, or of two sacrifices made, in each case, not by particular men, but by an entire social force. What all laborers sacrifice in supplying the minute fraction of the day's work that lies just within the line of equilibrium that we have traced, also what all capitalists sacrifice in submitting to that final bit of abstaining or waiting that lies just within their own collective line of equilibrium—these constitute the subjective double standard on which all measurements of value rest."

Here Prof. Patten may see that the terminology of the science is not so meagre as he had imagined. Of Prof. Clark it may be said that all is rent that comes to his net. Rent is rent, wages is rent, interest is rent, and profit is rent. Both production and consumption are rent if rightly considered.

—In a different style is Dr. Adolf Wagner's critique of Marshall's 'Principles of Economics,' in which not a paragraph can be found that requires a second reading in order to comprehend its exact import. Dr. Wagner awards high praise to Marshall, and in so doing administers some raps on the knuckles to those members of the German historical school who adopt a condescending tone towards Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, and Mill. Perhaps the most notable part of Wagner's paper is that in which he upholds in the main the cost-of-production theory as the determinant of value, while conceding something to the later opposing views of Jevons, Menger, and Boehm Bawerk. Dr. Charles Gross's 'The Gild Merchant' receives hearty commendation from Mr. Wm. Cunningham of Trinity College, Cambridge.

—In 1884 the Massachusetts Legislature authorized the preparation of a topographical map of the State jointly with the United States Geological Survey; the State to pay $40,000 for its share of the field-work, and to be at no expense for engraving, but to have the right to reprints of the map sheets at cost. The State was represented by a commission consisting of President F. A. Walker of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mr. H. L. Whiting of the United States Coast Survey, and Prof. N. S. Shaler of Harvard College. During the progress of the survey, it was found that the definition of town boundaries throughout the State was so imperfect that an additional appropriation was secured to establish them in more permanent form. The field-work was finished a year or more ago, and now the entire atlas of fifty-four sheets is issued at the extremely moderate cost of six dollars, with index and portfolio cover. If bought singly, the sheets cost fifteen cents a piece. It may be had at the office of the Commissioners, Commonwealth Building, Boston. Massachusetts is thus the second of the Eastern States to provide a map of some topographic accuracy, obtainable at low price, and in form adapted to very general use. New Jersey is ahead in this respect; its atlas includes a shaded relief map of the entire State, and a colored geological map on single sheets, the whole consisting of twenty large sheets, costing but five dollars. A reduction of the Massachusetts map has been prepared at Washington on four sheets with contours, on a scale of about four miles to an inch; but this is without shading to indicate relief and it is not included in the State atlas.

—The single sheets, of which fifty-four cover the State, each embrace an area of about a hundred and twenty square miles, being bounded by even quarter-degree lines of latitude and longitude, following in this respect a scheme that will eventually be extended over the whole country. The scale is 1-62,500, or close to an inch to a mile—a very useful, sufficient, and intelligent scale for general purposes, although not large enough for the needs of the more exacting students or experts in various lines of professional work. The topographic relief is indicated by brown contour lines at twenty-foot intervals, except on the Williamstown sheet, where the bold slopes of Greylock required the omission of every other line—an unfortunate necessity, as it gives a deceptive impression when the maps are joined together. The general plateau-like quality of western Massachusetts is clearly brought out by a survey of this kind, and the contrast is strongly drawn between the open valley of the Connecticut and the gorges of the Westfield or Deerfield Rivers. Water is printed in blue; boundaries, railroads, towns, and names in black. The map should have a large sale in a State as intelligent as Massachusetts, and when its value is thus widely perceived, we trust that there will be a demand for a shaded relief-map of the State as a whole, on a smaller scale, and that every school in the State will be supplied with this relief map and with its own local sheet at State expense. In this connection, it may be mentioned that similar surveys have been completed of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and that the published sheets of those States may be soon expected. A neat account of the Connecticut survey, with elementary description of its methods, has been prepared by one of the Commissioners of that State, Dr. J. H. Chapin, and published lately by the Scientific Association of Meriden, Conn., in its Transactions, with an outline map, showing the triangulation and the division of the State into map-sheets. It may doubtless be obtained for the asking by those who are interested in this line of our advance in civilization.

—M. Salomon Reinach contributes to the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* a most interesting dissertation on one of the treasures of the Museum of the Louvre, the Victory of Samothrace. This marvellous statue, which can only be classed with the so-called Venus of Melos, and which possesses the same quality of intense perception of sensuous beauty, must distinctly be assigned to the same artistic movement if a little later and further removed from the severity of the Phidian standard. Like the Melian statue, it will serve for long discussions and antagonistic theories which may never find an authoritative solution. Unlike it, however, it is draped to the throat, and in the subtle and masterly modelling of the body under the drapery it suggests the little Victory of the temple of Nike Apteros, who stoops to untie her sandals, showing the entire figure through the stuff of her robes. Its discovery in 1863 was due to one of those active, quick-witted consuls whom France, under all régimes, has always sent to Eastern ports, and who seem always to have an eye on the Louvre. Found in fragments, lacking still the head and arms, it has been put together skilfully, and later researches on the locality where it was found have identified the remains of the monument to which it belonged. Its reconstruction on one of the landings of the *escalier d'honneur* of the Louvre on the original pedestal, the reproduction of the prow of a galley, gives it a romantic interest which the mystery surrounding the original home of its elder sister of Melos does not compensate for. The con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jecture that it is the monument erected by Demetrius Poliorcetes to commemorate his victory over the fleet of Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, in the waters of Cyprus, has been advanced, but the date of 306 B. C. seems too late for a work which approaches so nearly in its character to the school of Scopas, and which in several respects is surpassed by nothing we possess of Greek art. The heliogravure illustration to the article in the *Gazette* is excellent, with the grave fault of all the plates of Dujardin that he paints out the background of the figure instead of photographing it against a white screen; the painting out, however well done, impeaching, if not falsifying, the outline of every figure and destroying the roundness and relief of the photograph in any case. This gives it the effect of being cut out in tin. A photograph with a painted-out background or sky ceases to be a scientific document.

—We owe also to M. Reinach a catalogue of the Museum of National Antiquities at S. Germain-en-Laye, quite worthy the Museum itself, one of the best organized and most instructive in Europe. The catalogue, by the fulness and lucidity of its descriptions, comments, and annotations, becomes a hand-book of the prehistoric and Roman archæology of France. The thoroughness of the work may be judged from the fact that the catalogue of 202 pp. has an index of 27. The excellent idea of establishing, side by side with the antiquities of Gaul proper, a hall for comparisons in which may be studied objects from other countries analogous to the former, has been most effectively helped out by the commentations of the catalogue; and fifteen pages are given to the collection of text-books referring to the collection, and of utility to the student of it, in the library of the Museum.

—The Journal of the Historical Society of the Imperial University of Japan, in Tokio, has reached us, and its fourteen numbers are furnished with an index which shows at a glance the richness of the contents. In a supplementary number are included the names of members with their addresses. Among the most prominent are those of the President, Professors Shigéno Antaku and Kato Hiroyuki, President of the University, the Japanese Minister to Austria, the editor of the *Economic Magazine*, and a number of Japanese graduates of American colleges and European universities. Among the foreign names we find those of one or two Americans, and the total membership is one hundred and eighty-one. There are few or no drones in the hive, for we notice that every number has articles, proofs, verifications, authorities, queries, or miscellaneous matter, by which many names are represented. Of the four departments the first is devoted to addresses, etc., the second to old writings or history proper, the third to criticism, and the fourth to contemporary politics and economics. Not a few of the articles are of interest to dwellers in what we may now call palæo-Christendom, in distinction from the neo-Christendom which is the growth chiefly of this century. In illustration of the general theme of the Roman Catholic Missions in Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are essays, narrations, and many official and other old documents never before published. Among these papers are Christian Inquisition in the time of the Bakufu (or Shogunate), Letter of Daté Masamuné to Philip III. of Spain, and the Rebellion at Shimabara. Other interesting papers treat of the origin of Japanese letters, of Toyotomi Hidéyoshi, of the Japanese race and language, of the burning question of extra-territoriality, of castle buildings, of the decisive battle of Sékigahara in 1600, which settled the destinies of Japan for a quarter of a millennium; the origin of the *eta*, or pariahs, restored to citizenship by the Mikado in 1872, besides many interesting questions and answers. The flourishing state of this historical society is both a cause and an effect of the great interest in the study of history now so noticeable in Japan. The critical age, and the time of reconstruction as well as of demolition, has come. Certain it is that Japanese history is written in a manner almost totally different from the style in vogue for centuries, when the making either of dry annals or the romances called history occupied those who passed for historiographers. Even the works accepted as classic are now being scrutinized, and among the most interesting papers in the Society's Journal is one on the errors and omissions of the 'Tai Héi Ki,' a standard work describing the middle ages in Japan and the great Héi or Taira family. It is to be hoped that a selection of the best papers of the Society will be published in English.

GROSS'S GILD MERCHANT.

The Gild Merchant: A Contribution to British Municipal History. By Charles Gross, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Harvard University. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 1890.

MUNICIPAL history in Great Britain, as elsewhere, until recently has largely been in the hands of the antiquarians. The historians of the classical school preferred the broader field of national life, while the institutional historians of the last half century have for the most part devoted their investigations to tracing the growth of the living and conspicuous features of modern states. But as the animating spirit and method of modern science take a larger hold on historical students, the almost unexplored field of local institutions, dead and living, the deep foundations of the modern social system, will be subjected to critical and detailed analysis. Until this is done our constitutional histories, however carefully elaborated, must be tentative. The antiquarian's studies have been too often dominated by an honest zeal to prove that his town is of "Roman origin," or "a very ancient borough," and by an enthusiasm for genealogies and epitaphs rather than by the aims of true scientific inquiry. Consequently the accounts of institutions in the conventional local history are often both vague and erroneous. It is a source of legitimate pride that an epoch-making work in this field should come from the hands of a young American scholar.

Dr. Gross's inaugural dissertation, 'Gilda Mercatoria,' published eight years ago, was generally recognized from the first to be the best existing discussion of this feature of English town life in the Middle Ages. That pamphlet of one hundred pages was based chiefly upon printed sources. Several years of painstaking research in England have enabled Dr. Gross to reissue it in an enlarged form, incorporating the results of extended study of manuscript records, with a rich collection of documents as proofs and illustrations and a number of valuable essays on collateral topics. The list of authorities appended to the earlier work contains a few more than two hundred titles, while the list of 'The Gild Merchant' contains more than nine hundred. In connection with this, Dr. Gross has compiled a comprehensive bibliography of British municipal history of about four thousand titles, accompanied by a critical survey of the whole literature, which will be printed if sufficient interest is elicited. These facts indicate vividly the range of study and patient investigation of the years of the development of the 'Gilda Mercatoria' into 'The Gild Merchant.'

Brentano and his followers trace the origin of town government to the frith-gilds, which, in their view, comprised the whole body of the citizens. The regulations of this protective association became the law of the town. From this gild developed the later municipality. As the towns became commercial, the gild assumed the character of a merchant gild; with the expansion of the town, the primary gild became exclusive, and rival ones were formed; but, these finally fusing with the old fraternity, the united body governed the town and formed the basis of the later burghal constitution. Thus the Gild Merchant is viewed as practically identical with the borough. This conclusion Dr. Gross completely overthrows with a wealth of evidence that is almost embarrassing. He has discovered the existence of the Gild Merchant in 102 towns in England, in 30 towns in Wales, and in 38 towns in Ireland. The history of ninety-three of these Gilds Merchant is more or less fully illustrated by the documents in his second volume. The essential feature of this organization is well brought out in these words from one of the Harley MSS. relating to Chester: "A Guylde Marcatorie, viz., a brotherhood, of which companie whosoe were not could not use trafficke or trade within ye Cittie." In brief, it was that department of the town administration which controlled its commercial life and kept a careful eye upon the preservation of its monopoly of trading rights. Within the Gild equality of rights prevailed, outside it, no rights of trade existed. The institution cannot be definitely traced back of the Conquest. In the reign of Henry I. it appears in several charters, as one of the franchises included under the more general title, a "free borough." As the privilege of *firma burgi* commuted for a definite payment tolls, court perquisites, and dues owed to the feudal lord, so the grant of a Gild Merchant transferred the control of the trade of the town from its lord to a body of the citizens. Before the grant all traders paid dues to the lord; after it all citizens who engaged in trade were members of the Gild Merchant. As such they generally enjoyed free trade after meeting their assessments, while all traders not citizens could trade, apart from special occasions like fairs, only by securing licenses and upon the payment of heavy dues to the Gild Merchant.

All traders, citizens or aliens, were, as traders, under the jurisdiction of this body. It was not identical with the town government, for not all the burgesses were members of it, and on its rolls were to be found the names of non-residents. It was, however, an inseparable part of the town administration, and in some towns seems to have been the predominant element in the government. Membership was heritable, or could be acquired as a gift from a friend, subject to the approval of the body; but the ordinary method was election. The Gild Merchant exercised its rights of monopoly, and tried the experiment of developing trade by restriction to the utmost. It did not stop with the protection of its members from outside competition, but suppressed all speculation within. The attempt was made to abolish middlemen, and to create perfect equality of conditions for every member. In Dublin and elsewhere some of the features of the modern Trust are foreshadowed in the rather elaborate pooling of all business. Dr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gross attributes the decay of the ancient trading towns and the early growth of Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, which had no monopoly, to this stifling policy. So late as 1766, the authorities of Chester attempted to enforce the old monopoly, and to restrict all retail trade to citizens "free of the said city."

A few particulars of Gild action from the many to be found in the "proofs" may be cited. In Bristol and some other coast towns foreigners could retail from ships in the harbor. The Bristol Gild Merchant made liberal appropriations to the public works of the city. In Coventry the Gild, among its other functions, plays the part of a loan association and aid society. To unfortunate but deserving members it would lend money without interest for a year or two. In Dublin, members were forbidden to sue each other at law, and all grievances must be submitted to a committee of arbitration. In Guildford in 1361 the Gild paid the members of Parliament. At this time the regular rate was two shillings per day, but Bishop Stubbs tells us that constituents sometimes bargained with members to do it for less. Guildford may be an instance of such frugality, for the Guildford members received only twelve pence.

The indications that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Gild and borough were not identical have been mentioned, but, as time goes on, a tendency to amalgamation is observable. The same men control both organizations, and the borough gradually absorbs the functions of the Gild, which finally becomes the mere skeleton of a dead institution. The process is so marked in the fourteenth century that it is not strange that some writers have identified the two bodies in their earlier history. To their early relations Dr. Gross devotes a chapter, and clearly shows that Brentano and others who identify the bodies, have been misled by too great reliance upon the Continental analogies and the assumption that London was a typical English town. Behind this assumption were the two others, viz., that the Cnihten Gild of London was a Gild Merchant, and that it was the governing body of London. Our knowledge of this Cnihten Gild is vague, and we can be certain of no more than that the Cnihts were burgesses and their body an influential fraternity. The existence of a typical Gild Merchant in London cannot be proved, and in some other respects the municipal history of London is anomalous.

The origin of the borough, according to Dr. Gross, lay in "expansion of a township or the union of two or more townships," whereby the larger community secured a jurisdiction of its own which mere townships, being subject to the courts of the hundred and the shire, did not enjoy. "The Gild Merchant in early times had no connection with the borough motes (courts, leets, etc.)," which were the essence of the original municipal polity. In most towns holding of a bishop, abbot, or baron, the courts were under the control of bailiffs appointed by the lord. In such towns the citizens, looking for some organ for their citizenly activities, not having the courts under their control as did citizens of royal boroughs, naturally turned to the Gild Merchant, which would thereby become the centre of civic life. The prominence of the Gild Merchant in such cases, owing to especial conditions, has lent a fallacious support to the theory that the Gild was the basis of the borough. The influence of the Gild is to be seen not in the origin but in the development of the municipal constitution. As one of the chief privileges of the *Liber Burgus* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, "it aided in evolving the later legal idea of technical municipal incorporation, but was never actually equivalent to the latter." In the earlier period artisans were admitted into the Gild Merchant, but in striking contrast to the state of things on this continent, we find no struggles between the artisans and the merchants resulting in the extension of democratic principles. In England the development of municipal life was towards oligarchy, and instead of the power passing from the merchant burgesses to the artisans, it passed from the burgesses to a "select" body. There are instances of contests between this governing council and the citizens at large. As the towns increased in size, it became usual for the artisans to organize subsidiary bodies or craft gilds which in their development drew the life out of the Gild Merchant. The older body, therefore, retained its power longer in smaller towns. Dr. Gross conjectures that the absence of a Gild Merchant in London may be explained in this way. The rapid growth of the city had produced a network of craft gilds earlier than elsewhere, and so the field of the Gild Merchant was occupied before the period of its organization opened.

Some writers have confused the later mercantile companies with the Gild Merchant. There seems to be no genetic connection between them, although there is a similarity in their functions, particularly as regards the monopoly of trade. The new companies were restricted to merchants proper, while the older body included artisans and farmers as well. As late as 1771 we find the Grocers' Company of Alnwick trying to enforce their monopoly by prosecuting two persons for using the art or mystery of grocer. The later companies of Merchant Adventurers are still more sharply to be distinguished. Their field was exclusively foreign trade. Reviewing the history of the Gild Merchant, it is seen to divide naturally into three periods: during the first it is probably a private society; during the second it is an important and constituent element of burghal government; the third period is one of absorption into the burghal organization, and begins in the fourteenth century.

Nothing thus far has been said of Scotland. As the municipal life of Scotland followed the line of Continental rather than of English development, Dr. Gross found a separate discussion advisable. We can only give his most important conclusions. He has found traces of the "Gildry," as the body is called in Scotland, in sixty-six towns, in forty-three of which either the Gildry or its chief officer still exists. This survival of the Gildry "as a separate but constituent part of the burghal administration down to the present day," and the prevalence of conflicts between the Gildry and the artisans, are the most striking differences between it and the English Gild Merchant. Traces of conflict between the Gildry and the artisans are found in more than twenty towns.

The Gild Merchant of the Continental cities is briefly discussed, and found to correspond "to the later civic mercantile fraternities of England established either for f reign commerce or to regulate a particular part of the local trade monopoly." Leading scholars are abandoning the view that on the Continent the Gild and borough were identical. Illustrative documents are given of the Gild in twelve cities. We note an error in explaining the regulations of St. Omer. In the sentence, "Si quis scacchas aut patinos in gildhalla attulerit dimidiam unciam argenti dabit," etc., the word *scacchas* is defined in the glossary as 'chess,' and one is left to wonder why chess and clogs were forbidden in the same sentence. The word for chess is properly *scacci; scaccae* means either crutches, stilts, or skates. The corresponding French words are *échecs* and *échasses*. *Scaccae* is the Latin of the Flemish *Schaetse* and the English "scatches." To illustrate the Gilds of Florence, Dr. Gross quotes from Macchiavelli's History, book iii., chapter xii, attaching the date 1378. This is a notable exception to his uniform practice; elsewhere the date is that of the document, and the document is contemporary. In this instance the date 1378 is merely the date of certain events which led Macchiavelli into a digression on the Florentine Gilds. The essential features of the Gilds as he describes them date from 1266 and 1282 ff. As Macchiavelli is in no sense a contemporary, we see no reason for quoting him rather than Capponi or Perrens. In Capponi's second volume, on the other hand, p. 483, there is a document of the year 1378 with definite references to the "Consiliarii Mercantie et Universitatis Mercatorum," and to the "Curia Mercantie et Universitatis Mercatorum," which throw more light, dim though it be, on the Gild Merchant than Macchiavelli's description of the crafts. As far as they are concerned, in the same volume of Capponi, p. 524-5, is a passage from Goro Dati containing a contemporary account of the *arti* early in the fifteenth century which would be preferable to Macchiavelli's.

Dr. Gross devotes a short appendix to the term *Hansa*, which appears frequently in charters in connection with the Gild Merchant, as *gildam mercatoriam cum hansa* (or *et hansam*). Pauli seems to have met with it only four times, and Merewether and Stephens confound it with the Teutonic Hanse of Germans trading in England. Dr. Gross gives a list of forty-five charters containing the expression, which appears to mean an exaction imposed as an entrance fee, or upon non-gildsmen as a license fee for trading. *Gilda Mercatoria cum hansa* probably meant that the Gild Merchant was granted the right to levy fees from Gild members as from non-gildsmen for trading in town. Sometimes *hansa* seems synonymous with *Gilda Mercatoria*.

In an appendix of about forty pages, Dr. Gross throws a flood of light upon a most interesting feature of mediæval town polity, the affiliation of boroughs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. If a village desired the franchise of a borough, its first step was to look among its free neighbors for a model constitution. Finding one suited to its needs, it offered its lord a payment for the grant of a similar charter. In 1199 Gloucester paid the King 200 marks for the liberties enjoyed by Winchester. An already free borough might change its charter for one of a more developed type. Dr. Gross has tabulated with exact references about 190 cases of affiliation. London was the parent town or model directly for 28 towns in different parts of the kingdom, Winchester for 23, Bristol for some 31 in Ireland, Hereford for 18 in Wales, and Newcastle for 7 in Scotland. It thus appears that there were centres of radiation in the expansion of municipal rights. The indirect relationships were more complex: Bristol and Winchester were affiliated to London, while Hereford and Dublin, a parent of ten Irish towns, were affiliated to Bristol. When a town had secured the liberties of any given borough, it promptly sent to its "metropolis" for specifications of its rights. Subsequently, in cases of disputed interpretation, reference was had to the records of the mother town for an authoritative interpretation. Favorable circumstances might have developed this kind of consultation into regular appellate jurisdiction,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but the mother town in England never became anything more than a court of consultation. It had no powers over the daughter town.

On the Continent, however, the relation developed fully and logically, and the mother town became a regular court of appeal. In France the most important mother towns were Beauvais, Rouen, Laon, and Beaumont, each having about a half dozen *filiales*. In 1303 Bruges was the *hoofd*, or parent, of twenty-seven towns. In Germany, Cologne, Magdeburg, Soest, Lübeck, and Frankfort had a wide range of dependencies—Lübeck more than one hundred, and Frankfort some three hundred. The principal *Oberhöfe* in Germany lasted into the sixteenth century, but finally gave way to the tribunals of the ruling princes in matters of appeal, and to the law faculties of the Universities in matters of consultation. Lübeck acted as *Oberhof* for the last time in 1721. Affiliation was prevalent also in Spain. The most picturesque instance in history occurs in 1338, when Rome sends to Florence to ask the Commune for "gli ordini della giustizia." The pro-slavery fanatics in the Kansas Legislature of 1855 little thought that, in adopting *en bloc* almost the whole body of Missouri statutes, they were following an ancient precedent, universally prevalent in the Middle Ages, which had been of inestimable service in the extension of constitutional rights.

In this review of Dr. Gross's work it has been possible to notice but a small portion of the interesting material that he has collected. The notes to volume first are exceedingly valuable to the student, and contain a mass of digested information, while the documents of volume second form a collection indispensable to all students of mediæval English town life. In the charters we find Latin used as late as 1686 (Berwick), and English as early as the fourteenth century (Winchester), with Latin greatly predominating. French, "after the scole of Stratford atte Bowe," appears occasionally, and notably in the long body of rules of the Southampton Gild of the fourteenth century. The use of the word "Capitolium" for "le Guilde Hall" in an Ipswich document of the fifteenth century is a rather interesting parallel of the modern Americanism, "capitol." These two volumes, in fine, with their apparatus of notes, bibliography, glossary, and index, form a monograph of the highest value, and exhibit the modern critical study of institutions at its best. Dr. Gross is eminently sober and cautious, he has no vagaries, his position is based on and defended by contemporary documents, and he demands the same rigorous proofs from others. He has little patience with Brentano's confident generalizations, which often rest on a "probably" of Madox. We sincerely hope that he will be able to prosecute his studies for many years in the field of British municipal history, which he has made peculiarly his own, and in which he has securely established himself as one of the very first authorities.

THE BELKNAP PAPERS.

Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Sixth Series. Vol. IV. Boston. 1891.

THE Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1877 and 1878, published two volumes of "Belknap Papers" from manuscripts found in its cabinets, consisting mainly of letters between the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D.D., of Dover, N. H., the author of a history of New Hampshire, and Ebenezer Hazard of Philadelphia, Postmaster-General under the old Confederation, and editor of the historical collections known by his name. Though these letters grew out of the historical and literary projects of the writers, they throw much light upon a great variety of subjects between 1779 and 1798.

On the recent celebration of the centennial of its formation, in which Dr. Belknap had the chief share, the Society published a third volume supplementing the former volumes, and covering the period 1766–1798, containing letters (with some other documents) written to Dr. Belknap by many people of distinction, among whom were John and Abigail Adams, the Rev. Joseph Buckminster, Mathew Carey, Dr. Manasseh Cutler, Ebeling of Hamburg, Dr. John Eliot, Dr. William Gordon, Dr. Moses Hemmenway, Gen. Lincoln, Dr. Jedidiah Morse, Dr. Ramsay, Dr. Rush, Noah Webster, Sir John Wentworth, and Paine Wingate.

The earlier volumes give the Belknap-Hazard correspondence substantially complete, though the two parts of it were not brought together until more than fifty years after they were written. But few of Dr. Belknap's letters appear in the present volume, for he seldom kept copies, and the originals are now too widely scattered, even if they exist, to be recovered. This is regrettable, since anything from Dr. Belknap's pen would be of value. For while he is hardly to be classed with great men, or even with great historians, yet as an all-round man he had few superiors in New England, and with a suitable theme and more favorable opportunities he might have written a great history. As it was, De Tocqueville said of his 'History of New Hampshire,' that the reader would find in it "more general ideas and more strength of thought than are to be found in the American historians even to the present day [1848]"; and modern writers, after thorough investigation, find little that is essential to add to Belknap's third chapter, on the Puritans of New England, or to his twenty-third, on the controversy with Great Britain in 1775.

Jeremy Belknap was born in Boston in 1744, sat under Thomas Prince in the Old South, graduated at Harvard College in 1762, was settled at Dover, N. H., from 1767 to 1786, and over the Federal Street Church in Boston from 1787 until his death in 1798. Besides his 'History of New Hampshire,' he published two volumes of 'American Biography,' and was author of 'The Foresters,' essentially an historical work, and of numerous printed sermons and pamphlets. Dr. Belknap's adult life covered the war of the Revolution, the Constitution-making period which followed, and that of the reorganization of society to meet the new order of things. People began to have new thoughts on a great variety of subjects, such as slavery, temperance, theology, and social life, and a new literary life was developed in New England. In all these matters Dr. Belknap made his influence felt, and no one earlier than he burst the bands of provincialism which bound his section of the country; and on all, something will be found in this volume. It may also be said that it is the peculiar value of these letters that they were neither partisan accounts of transactions by officials engaged in them, nor idle gossip between friends, but were mainly written by those whose aid Dr. Belknap had sought in his historical work—intelligent men who, whether communicating facts or their own opinions, wrote with a sense of their responsibility for the truth of history. And as a result, in this volume is found more authentic information on a great variety of interesting subjects concerning the period and section of the country it covers, than is often contained in volumes of correspondence.

Students of our Revolutionary history desire to learn—and get little satisfaction from general histories—just how reasonable men on both sides, Whigs and Tories, regarded each other, and what were the questions on which people once friendly, and perhaps of the same family, finally divided into bitterly hostile parties; and in the correspondence of John Wentworth, the last of the royal Governors of New Hampshire, with Dr. Belknap, will be found something to their purpose. The Governor was a dutiful servant of the Crown, but a man of good sense and right feeling. By throwing open family papers and in other ways, his assistance to Belknap was invaluable. And Dr. Belknap, on the other hand, with a just sense of his obligations to the Governor, was a stanch Whig, who always kept his colors in sight. In the impending conflict the Governor made every effort to moderate and conciliate both parties, and not without hope at one time. But in December, 1774, Sullivan and Langdon led an attack on Fort William and Mary in Portsmouth harbor and seized arms and ammunition in the custody of Crown officers, which ammunition was said to have been returned the next spring at Bunker Hill. The die was cast; and, shortly after, Wentworth writes, "that the late confusions give me great pain, indeed, not for myself, but for a people whom I love equally; such a precipitate movement upon (now) known false rumour working deplorable consequences. . . . It grieves me to my soul, thus driven from my favorite stronghold of favorable representation [to the British Ministry] by the mad intemperance of a few indiscreet individuals, who seldom want followers in folly." When the war was over, Dr. Belknap, collecting materials for that part of his History which related to it, wrote to Gov. Wentworth, then Governor of Nova Scotia:

"I do most sincerely wish that I could converse with you on some of these various topics [the Governor's administration when the war broke out], because it is my intention and desire to give as candid an account of things as is consistent with truth. It is true, I always was and shall appear in this work to be an advocate for the American side of the question which was so long in debate with Great Britain, and which is now determined by the Supreme Arbiter. But there were some things done by my countrymen which I did not approve at the time, nor has the length of time which has elapsed altered my opinion."

To this the Governor replied:

"I now declare to you in private friendship, that on a review of all my public conduct to this day I acted with honest zeal for the King's service and the real good of his subjects, which I always did and do now think were inseparable; nor did I ever know any intention to impose arbitrary laws on America, or to establish any system repugnant to British liberty, and I verily believe had the true, wise, and open measures been embraced on both sides, that this union would have been many years established and their prosperity wonderfully increased."

This correspondence puts both parties to it in an amiable light; but both probably were mistaken, and William Livingston more nearly right, when he said in 1768, "No conduct of Great Britain, whether wise or imprudent, no possible temper of hers, whether kind or cross-grained, will put a stop" to independence. It was inevitable.

Perhaps the most interesting series of letters in the volume is that of Dr. John Eliot, between 1774 and 1798. He was a son of Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot, who remained with his people in Boston during the siege. His opportunities for knowing what was going on during that time, and observing the conduct of prominent men on both sides, were unsurpassed; and as a friend to Belknap, whose wife was his cousin, his communications to the latter in his remote home in New Hampshire were frequent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and minute, though, unhappily, not all have been preserved. In December, 1774, a few months before the war broke out at Lexington, the patriots, who relied much upon the sympathy and political aid of their friends in England, were particularly anxious in respect to the effect on the state of parties of the violent destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor the year before, and, doubtless with a sense of relief, Eliot was able to write Belknap that "Dr. Cooper, in his sermon at the lecture today, among other things, mentioned that he was well informed the minds of people were more favorable towards us on the other side of the Atlantic. It is generally supposed he has received a letter from Dr. Franklin," then in London. But clouds and darkness were about to gather around them. "Heaven protect us," he writes, "in these parts from the equally dangerous extremes of a blind submission to the lawless power of the tools of state, or the greater tyranny of factious demagogues." And a few weeks after:

"The most hostile appearance is on both sides. I dread the result of the military preparations. . . . I can't imagine what way matters can be compromised to the honor of the Crown and the security of our rights. The Congress has drawn a line which will never be submitted to while British blood flows in the veins of Englishmen. Our people will never be contented with less, though wading knee-deep in maternal blood, or deluging the land with our own, may be the consequence. . . . I have conversed with many gentlemen of the [Royal] army who seemed much averse to encounter with their fellow-subjects, but think the Congress by their late resolves have declared war against them."

Much to our regret, Eliot writes nothing about Lexington, Bunker Hill, or the siege of Boston, after which the war rolled off towards New York, and news came back slowly. "We have been left," he says, "to gain our knowledge entirely from the private letters of partisans or the more tainted medium of public prints." This is remarkable, since his letter, dated January 12, 1777, relates to Howe's landing on Long Island and the events at New York nearly six months before.

Six months before the date of this letter, independence had been declared, and one of the strongest reasons for it, as John Adams claimed, was that it would lead to the active interference of France in the war. Eliot asks: "What think you of the consequence of Independence? Last winter great bets were laid that France would openly assist the United States in less than three months after the Declaration, that they would send a large fleet and army immediately upon their hearing of it. What are our prospects?" But, after all inquiries, it came to this: "Revenge must actuate the French to hostility against Britain, and it is their interest that America should be independent," and, from two hours' conversation with John Adams on this subject, Eliot got no additional light save "that the present minister of France was a person who delighted in war."

Eliot's letters throw some new light on the treatment of the Tories, or, at least, show how in doubtful cases the line was drawn between them and the Whigs; and apparently it was by popular vote, often manipulated, as was supposed, to promote private malice or interest. The evils of paper money and its counterfeits are better known than the fact that the scarcity of food in and about Boston was alarming at times even after the departure of the army.

Next in interest, perhaps, to the political revolution which, beginning in Massachusetts, finally separated the thirteen colonies from the British Crown, was the more quiet revolution which divided the Established Church in Massachusetts, and led to the spread of dissenting opinions throughout New England, if no farther. Belknap and Eliot, like some other clergymen of good orthodox standing, sympathized with those who were known, or soon came to be known, as Unitarians and Universalists; and there are letters in this volume which indicate that their views had gained some acceptance among the laity. But even a man like Dr. Samuel Cooper, one of the boldest of the patriots, "excuses his own conduct in concealing his sentiments from the people under his charge, as well as the world in general," by what "our Saviour said to his followers; 'I have many things to tell you, but ye cannot bear them now.'" Nevertheless, old associations and old prejudices were strong, and the new men with the new views were looked upon askance. In 1775, Eliot writes, "I have seen Mr. Relly's piece, but never read it. Mr. Murray is a gentleman excelling more in brilliancy of imagination than strength of genius." Mr. Relly was a Universalist preacher in London, and Mr. Murray the founder of Universalism in America. "Mr. Murray has made a great noise in Boston, and most of the libertines of the day attend him. I heard him once. What he said was *small*, but his friends agreed in affirming this was his worst discourse." A mysterious manuscript by Dr. Chauncy was passed about some years among the younger clergy, in which, it was hinted, he treated the unpardonable sin in a way to rob it of something of its terrors; but at length, in 1784, Eliot writes: "Dr. Chauncy's MS. is in press. Not the critical remarks; only just a part, which is a mere castrated edition of the whole work. It will be anonymous." But Universalism was spreading among the younger clergy in a way that alarmed their orthodox elders. Meanwhile Dr. Hemmenway of Maine, to whom Belknap had made known some of his difficulties, wrote a most able, clear, and convincing argument, perfectly satisfactory to those who adhered to the old doctrine, but not altogether so to Belknap.

Liberalism in Church and State policy did not keep pace with liberalism in doctrine; for when the third article of the Bill of Rights in the new Constitution of 1780, making obligatory the public maintenance of worship and requiring all people to attend it, was under discussion in the Boston town-meeting, the Universalists and Baptists strenuously opposed it; but those of the Orthodox Church, and many, both clergymen and laymen of distinction, who not long after avowed Unitarianism, supported it, and Eliot's account of the debate is one of the most amusing things in the volume.

We have no space left for the letters of Dr. Rush, full of interesting matters touching almost every department of reform; or those of Paine Wingate, who kept Belknap well informed of what was going on—especially with regard to copyright law—in New York or Philadelphia under the newly formed Government, and the various conflicting interests to be adjusted by Congress; or letters of Franklin, John Adams, and others which are well worth reading. The volume has been admirably edited by Mr. Charles C. Smith of the Publishing Committee, and, with the other two volumes, together with the other writings of Dr. Belknap, forms the largest and richest body of original material extant for tracing the origin and illustrating the progress of that school of historians, of which Belknap was the first, who have added lustre to the literary renaissance in New England which marked, and, as it now seems, culminated in, the first half of the present century.

The Correspondence of William Augustus Miles on the French Revolution, 1789–1817. Edited by the Rev. Charles Popham Miles. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.

It is undeniably interesting to learn that the editor of these letters can record conversations in which his father took part one hundred and twelve years ago, and that his half-sister went to school in Paris before the destruction of the Bastille; but these are perhaps the most interesting facts to be found in these volumes. The publication of the writings of a contemporary observer upon such a colossal event as the French Revolution is usually something of an event itself. The subject is too large to have been yet exhausted, and too fascinating to be ever neglected. Mr. Miles, however, was already known to students of the history of that time, and they will not suffer from the disappointment that is here prepared for the public. For, after a patient examination, we have been unable to discover in these letters any facts of importance not already known, or any judgments of men and things that have any material value. They record the activity of one of the most irrepressible meddlers that ever writ himself down an ass, and are on that account occasionally amusing; but they are in the main intolerably verbose, repetitious, inflated, and inept.

Mr. Miles was affected by the scribbling disease in its most aggravated form—that which leads to the publication of letters to prominent persons in the form of pamphlets and letters in the newspapers under such signatures as "Tiberius Gracchus," "Civis," "Amicus Justitiæ," etc. He was even more unfortunate than this. The age was propitious beyond precedent to social philosophers of the *a priori* school, and Mr. Miles was not only convinced of his own superlative wisdom and the ineffable folly of those to whom the conduct of affairs of state was intrusted, but he actually felt an overwhelming personal responsibility for the proper direction of these affairs. Having been once employed by Pitt as an unaccredited diplomatic agent at Liége and Paris, he could never afterwards express himself otherwise than in language becoming an ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, or, more frequently, appropriate only to the head of the Government. His diplomacy, however, was of the order which flourished most in coffee-houses and barber-shops, and he was incapable of understanding that the policy of Ministers might be determined by considerations of which he was not informed.

He conceived the idea, while stationed at Liége at the beginning of the disturbances, that it should be the policy of England to encourage revolution there and in the Austrian Netherlands, which he supposed would have prevented not only the opening of the Scheldt, but also any advance of the French in that direction. All cause of discord between England and France being thus removed, there would, as he thought, have been no war between those countries. Having been sent to Paris on a secret mission for the purpose of stirring up discontent with the family compact between France and Spain, he felt it incumbent upon himself to arrange an alliance between England and France. Not being supported by his Government in this wholly unauthorized undertaking, he devoted himself, in the unofficial career to which, in spite of his repeated endeavors, he was thenceforth condemned, to writing letters to the press, to his friends, and to Pitt himself, showing how all subsequent calamities were due to the failure to adopt his suggestions. Some of his reflec-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions will indicate the probable merit of his plans:

"My great anxiety in the first years of the Revolution was to preserve Mr. Pitt from error." "I had communicated enough with Mr. Pitt, and with those immediately in his confidence, to convince me that he was very ill-informed in foreign politics, and very unequal to the task of conducting a war novel in all its circumstances, as well as in its origin and objects, and which had nothing in common with former contests but the carnage, misery, and devastation inseparable from all wars." "My unavailing efforts in favor of oppressed humanity, my fruitless anxiety for the freedom and felicity of mankind, and the little attention paid to my hitherto verified predictions, incline me to believe that the amelioration of the hard condition of the great mass of the people forms no part of the duty of Kings and Ministers."

Immediately after the overthrow of the French monarchy, Mr. Miles assumed the task of reëstablishing friendly relations between France and England. Imposed upon himself by some irresponsible French agents, he came near imposing upon Pitt, who in disgust pointedly requested him to abstain from further attempts at directing the foreign policy of his country. This grievance supplied him with additional material for voluminous letter-writing. The following is a specimen of his schemes and of his plaints—an epitome at once of the man and of his activity:

"My wish was to avert the calamities which have since ensued—for wars multiply and engender crimes—nor was I without hope of seeing accomplished at a future period an alliance between the two countries. It is what I have long had most seriously at heart. If the man then at the head of the Foreign Department in France, whose necessities I had relieved, and for whom I solicited in 1786 and 1787 an allowance from the Secretary of State, had been either honest or discreet—if he had even kept his word with me—I would have defied the English Cabinet, however disposed it might have been to crush the infant liberties of a rising empire, to have gratified a wish so impolitic. In the last letter I wrote to Le Brun I traced so explicitly the route he had to follow, that if his vanity and irregular ambition, mixed perhaps with some degree of personal resentment at the disappointment he received in 1787, had not blinded him to his true interests, as well as to all sense of duty to his country, the war would certainly have been avoided. I was well known in Paris and in other parts of the Continent, where despotism, falling under the pressure of its own weight, had annihilated itself. It was understood that my mind, independent in all its operations, disdained the shackles of party, and that, influenced by a love of liberty and of justice and uncontaminated by considerations of personal interest or ambition, I always judged for myself from facts and the best evidence I could obtain. It was with this stock of reputation in advance, and conscious of being right, that I conceived the project of preserving peace between the two nations. . . . If my suggestions had been attended to by those who swayed the councils in both countries, the ruinous contest in which they are engaged, and the sad consequences of which I predicted at the time, would not have happened."

One more effort was made by Mr. Miles to restore our distracted planet to its orbit. A French officer, La Colombe, of royalist proclivities, approached him with the suggestion that if England would declare that she would be satisfied with a limited monarchy in France and would procure the release of Lafayette and his companions, they would at once proceed to Auvergne and raise an army there of 25,000 or 30,000 men with which to oppose the Convention. For the production of this army La Colombe offered the security of his head. Mr. Miles at once hastened to the Foreign Office with this proposal, with the mortifying result of finding it entirely ignored. Probably Pitt "liked not the security." From this blow Mr. Miles never recovered, and he spent the rest of his days in expatiating to every one who would listen to him—and to some who would not, for after repeated snubs he persisted in writing to Pitt—upon the disastrous consequences of the neglect of his advice. Yet though cast down he was not crushed, if the *mens sibi conscia recti* has any sustaining power.

"Thrown upon the world to explore my way through its dark, intricate, and dangerous mazes, my own master before I had attained the age of eleven, I have escaped the contagion of the bad example with which I was surrounded; and with passions as violent, and with a mind as ardent and volatile as ever swayed the human breast, I have not allowed myself, in my intercourse with men, to be seduced or intimidated from the love and practice of right. It is this inflexible attachment to right that consigns me to my voluntary exile."

This "voluntary exile" was his retirement to the country in a fit of the sulks over the rebuffs which his meddling brought him. We see no reason to believe that his country suffered from his exile. It is possible that the letters from Paris, written to Pitt by Mr. Miles in 1790-'91, which are lost, may have been more interesting than those which have been preserved; but a perusal of the latter does much to console us for our loss. It is just to add that Mr. Miles's efforts at *la haute diplomatie* seem to have been pecuniarily disinterested, and that he declined employment by Government as a paid writer for the press. Mr. Miles certainly had opportunities. He was a member of the Jacobins, and he predicted the rise of Robespierre. He corresponded with men in high position and acquainted with the secret springs of events. But his overweening conceit made his abilities unavailable. He is a most impressive illustration of the wisdom of the advice to a youthful diplomat—*Surtout, pas trop de zèle.*

Capt. Francis Champernowne, the Dutch Conquest of Acadie, and Other Historical Papers. By Charles Wesley Tuttle, Ph.D. Edited by Albert Harrison Hoyt, A.M., with historical notes. With a Memoir of the Author by John Ward Dean, A.M. Boston. 8vo, pp. 426.

THIS handsome volume is the tribute of affectionate friends to one of the most diligent and careful of our antiquarian writers. Charles W. Tuttle, of noted New Hampshire origin, was a student all his life, and fortunately his tastes led him to give much time and care to investigating the more obscure portions of our local history. He displayed in his youth a great aptitude for the study of astronomy and mathematics, and was for several years connected with the Observatory at Cambridge, where he proved to be "an eminently capable assistant." At the age of twenty-five he was obliged to relinquish this study, and proceeded to qualify himself for the bar, being admitted to practice in 1856. From this time onward he relieved the hard work of his profession by earnest and successful researches in the field of genealogy and history. He contributed many articles to the *Historical and Genealogical Register* and the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In the present volume are reprinted his essays on "Capt. Francis Champernowne," "Conquest of Acadie by the Dutch," "Indian Massacre at Fox Point," "Provincial Government of New Hampshire," "Hope-Hood," "Christopher Kilby," "Hugh Percy," "Court of Vice-Admiralty over America," "Edward Randolph," "Cutt and Elliot Families," and numerous shorter papers.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the merit of these essays. Not only are they evidence of the author's complete mastery of each subject, but they abound and overflow with those details which show that he held in reserve much that a less severe judgment would have hastened to display. The text is ample and well-considered, but at every page the footnotes tempt the reader to stray into fascinating details which display the industry of the antiquary and the discretion of the collector. The biographical essays—Champernowne, Randolph, and Kilby—are especially to be cited as models for imitation by future writers. We shall not attempt to make citations from these essays, for they deserve to be read in their completeness, and they will remain as standard authorities on these topics, with hardly a possibility of future alteration or addition.

Mr. Tuttle died in 1881 at the age of fifty-one years, after a life of happy usefulness such as is granted to very few. He was fortunate in his family, his friends, and in that appreciation and fellowship of which he was naturally sensible. Of a generous and amiable nature, he made and retained friends, while he was singularly free from the disputatious and aggressive side of the literary character which antiquaries proverbially possess. He was always ready to impart information, however laboriously acquired, without the despicable desire of retaining it for his own literary renown. His wife was a fitting helpmeet, and, surviving him some six years, she made provision for the publication of this book as the best tribute to his memory. The pious task has been well performed by Col. Hoyt and Mr. John Ward Dean, both distinguished workers in the same branch of literature, and eminently fitted also by a long and intimate acquaintance with the author.

Although Mr. Tuttle's work was of less ambitious proportions than that of Palfrey or Prescott or Parkman, it was of equally good material and finish. He stands very high among a class of writers like Winthrop, Deane, Ellis, and others of lesser note, who have found time, amid the pursuits of active business, to make careful and intelligent research into sections of our history. By not attempting too much they have attained a completeness otherwise unattainable, and the aggregate of their labors is beyond the powers of the most gifted single historian. It is to be hoped that this earnest love of the past will not die out with the present generation, and that the young men of wealth and education, now coming forward in less admirable competitions, will yet see that such pursuits as this are peculiarly their most honorable and desirable opportunity.

Rambles in the Black Forest. By Henry W. Wolff. Longmans. 1890.

ANY ONE who on a summer's day has to wait for an hour or so at the railway station at Appenweier, opposite Strassburg, is apt to fancy himself at some large watering-place. Here he sees, promenading up and down the spacious covered platform, or lounging on the seats, countless Germans, but more Englishmen and Americans. Away to the west is the dim outline of the Vogesen, and if he look sharp, he can easily make out the spire of the cathedral at Strassburg. But if he turn to the east, he will see spread out right before him the whole beautiful panorama of the Black Forest. It is this that has attracted so many tourists, he thinks to himself, and he fancies that the next train up the valley of the Reuch will be boarded by most of those about him; but he is mistaken. A very few do go up the Reuch,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

see the beautiful falls at Allerheiligen and climb up to the enchanted Mummelsee. But the great majority turn a cold shoulder on the Black Forest and make haste to reach the Alps and Italy. Every one must see the Alps, and no fault can be found with that. But to one who has been awed by the cold grandeur of those colossal peaks, nothing can be more satisfactory than to be once more among the pine-clad hills of the Black Forest. Here he feels at home and not like a stranger in a land of giants; all that is about him seems to have human sympathies, and he would hardly feel surprised to see a wood-sprite pop out from behind a tree and offer to do him a kindness.

It is surely a charming country, with its dark-green forests, bright meadows, picturesque cottages, and, above all, its dashing mountain streams. Who could ever forget the refreshing drink a Black Forest spring had given him? Mr. Wolff is thoroughly at home in the Black Forest, and knows all its charms, but it is not only its natural beauties that he tells us of. He has been there often enough and lived there long enough to get perfectly familiar with the people, their homes, their dress, their every-day life, and their very habits of thought. He takes us into their houses and he tells us all about them; for he has not regarded this peculiar people with the eyes of a tourist, but they have learned to let him see what they would keep from such a one, and he has observed them in all seasons and under all circumstances. He has also made a careful study of their social and industrial condition—an entirely different study from that made by the hasty traveller, who takes a glance and asks a question or two and then writes a column. He has investigated the local records, the history, and the archæology of town and valley, and gives us the results of his study in a charmingly modest way. Mr. Wolff speaks the language of the Englishman, but his head and his heart are German, as his ancestry doubtless is. It is safe to say that the more his book is read the more people will go to the Black Forest, and they can have no better guide.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Westcott, B. F. Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Wichert, E. The Youngest Brother. Chicago: Laird & Lee.
Wilkins, Mary E. A New England Nun, and Other Stories. Harper & Bros.
Willard, E. Julius Cæsar. Philadelphia: Horace Willard.
Williams, F. H. Atman. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Woolsey, T. D. International Law. 6th ed. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

APRIL

EDUCATIONAL REVIEW.

Edited by NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, Ph.D., assisted by E. H. COOK, Ph.D., WILLIAM H. MAXWELL, Ph.D., and ADDISON B. POLAND, Ph.D.

Articles: Art Education in the Public Schools, James MacAlister—The Pedagogic Value of Zoölogy, S. A. Forbes—Recollections of Round Hill School, George E. Ellis—Adolf Diesterweg, Henry Cassel—James' Principles of Psychology, J. Mark Baldwin.

Discussions: State Councils of Education, Addison B. Poland—The Legal Definition of a School, C. W. Bardeen—The Movement for an Einheitsschule in Germany, L. R. Klemm—The Department of Superintendence, William H. Maxwell—The Brooklyn Institute Geographical Exhibit, James Cruikshank.

Editorial: The Reorganization of Higher Education in America—The Fayerweather Bequests to Colleges—The University Extension Movement—Public Libraries and Reading-Rooms in Schoolhouses.

Reviews: Spalding's Education and the Higher Life—Steele's Rudimentary Psychology—Gordy's Lessons in Psychology—Belton's Literary Manual of Foreign Quotations—Hodgkins' Arnold's Sohrab and Rustum—Bird's Elementary Geology—Flower's Quintus Curtius—Monteith's School and Family Atlas—Eisenhans' Psychologie und Logik—Rosetti's Shelley's Adonais—Frye's Brooks and Brook Basins—Notes on Recent Pedagogical Literature.

Foreign Correspondence: Contemporary Educational Thought in Great Britain.....J. G. Fitch

35c. a Copy, $3.00 a Year (10 Nos.).

HENRY HOLT & CO., New York

TO EUROPE. THREE VACATION EXCURSIONS will sail from New York by Cunard Steamer "*Gallia*," June 24th, Cunard Steamer "*Servia*," July 4th, Inman Steamer "*City of New York*," July 8th, to visit Liverpool, Chester, Warwick Castle, Shakespeare's Home, Kenilworth, Oxford (the great University town), LONDON (six days, with three days' carriage drives), PARIS (six days, with three days' carriage drives), Brussels, Antwerp, Edinburgh, Melrose, Abbotsford (the home of Sir Walter Scott), the celebrated Trossachs, Belfast and Giant's Causeway, Dublin, Killarney (with its world-renowned lakes), Cork, etc., etc., with extension to Italy, Germany, The Rhine, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, etc. Prices, including all necessary expenses: Section 1, $180; Section 2, $300; Section 3, $375. Send for complete itinerary of these and other tours to *Dept. Educational Tours*, THOS. COOK & SON, 261-262 Broadway, New York.

MEMORIAL TABLETS.

These tablets are executed in Polished Brass, Modelled Bronze, Carved Wood, etc., to be placed on the walls of Colleges, Libraries, Public Buildings, etc., to serve as an historical record.

Following are a few of the colleges in which we have placed tablets:

Princeton College,
Johns Hopkins University,
Lehigh University,
Trinity College,
Amherst College,
Racine College,
The U. S. Naval Academy,
Seton Hall College,
University of the City of New York,
National Deaf Mute College, Washington, D. C.,
Drew Theological Seminary,
Lehigh University,
Wells College,
Union Theological Seminary, N. Y.,
Rutgers College,
Washington and Lee University.

Special designs will be formulated to embody any particular ideas desired.

Illustrated hand-book free.

J. & R. LAMB,
59 Carmine Street, N. Y.
SIXTH AVENUE CARS PASS THE DOOR.

JUST PUBLISHED:

ANIMAL LIFE AND INTELLIGENCE. By C. Lloyd Morgan, F.G.S., Professor in and Dean of University College, Bristol, England; Author of 'Animal Biology,' etc. 8vo, cloth, xvi+512 pages. Illustrated. Retail price, $4.

"The work will prove a boon to all who desire to obtain a general knowledge of the more interesting problems of modern biology and psychology by the perusal of a single compact, luminous, and very readable volume."—*Alfred R. Wallace, in Nature (London).*

GINN & COMPANY, Publishers,
Boston, New York, and Chicago.

Dyspepsia

HORSFORD'S ACID PHOSPHATE.

In dyspepsia the stomach fails to assimilate the food. The Acid Phosphate assists the weakened stomach, making the process of digestion natural and easy.

Dr. R. S. McCOMB, Philadelphia, says: "Used it in nervous dyspepsia, with success."

Dr. W. S. LEONARD, Hinsdale, N. H., says: "The best remedy for dyspepsia that has ever come under my notice."

Dr. T. H. ANDREWS, Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, says: "A wonderful remedy, which gave me most gratifying results in the worst forms of dyspepsia."

Descriptive pamphlet free.

Rumford Chemical Works, Providence, R. I.

Beware of Substitutes and Imitations.

CAUTION: Be sure the word "Horsford's" is printed on the label. All others are spurious. Never sold in bulk.

EUROPEAN TRAVEL.

LONDON & NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.
CALEDONIAN RAILWAY.
GREAT SOUTHERN & WESTERN RAILWAY.
Queenstown, Liverpool, and Glasgow to London. Shortest and quickest routes. Luxurious Parlor, Sleeping, and Dining Cars. Tickets and Tours in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, England, and to Paris.
Baggage checked through New York to London.
For full information, Folders, Maps, Estimates, etc., apply to C. A. BARATTONI, Gen. Agent, 852 Broadway, New York.

BEST ART AT SMALLEST OUTLAY.

Signed artists' proofs of the best Etchings, costing with tasteful frame from $10 to $80. Frederick Keppel & Co. of Paris, and 20 East Sixteenth Street, New York, have just issued their illustrated Descriptive Catalogue (No. 8). It will be mailed on receipt of 10 cents in postage stamps. Also high-class Water Colors. Visitors are always welcome to call and examine these pictures.

Letters of Credit. We buy and sell bills of exchange on and make cable transfers of money to Europe, Australia, and the West Indies, also make collections and issue Commercial and Travellers' Credits, available in all parts of the world.

Brown Brothers & Co., Bankers,
NO. 59 WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

BURR'S LIBRARY INDEX.

FOR INDEXING SUBJECTS, TO AID THE STUDENT, SCHOLAR, CLERGYMAN, LAWYER, PHYSICIAN, EDITOR, AUTHOR, TEACHER, AND ALL LOVERS OF BOOKS.

All Words and Names are indexed by the first TWO Letters, with nearly 400 divisions of the Alphabet, printed in Thumbholes cut in the edges of the leaves.
Opened instantly at any combination by the use of one hand!
An Index to information for immediate or future use.

Write for descriptive circular and price.

THE BURR INDEX COMPANY, Sole Manufacturers, HARTFORD, CONN.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A FEW RECENT BOOKS.

THE LILY OF THE VALLEY.

By HONORE DE BALZAC. Translated by Katharine Prescott Wormeley. 12mo, half russia, uniform with previous volumes in our Balzac Series. Price, $1.50.

"The works of Balzac belong to the immortal department of the classics."—*Washington Critic.*

POSITIVE RELIGION.

Essays, Fragments, and Hints. By JOSEPH HENRY ALLEN, author of 'Christian History in its Three Great Periods,' 'Hebrew Men and Times,' etc. 16mo, cloth, $1.25.

"Clear in thought, logical, and entertaining."—*Brooklyn Citizen.*

"It is good to come upon a book like this, which embodies positive convictions, holds fast to undebatable truths, and aims to inspire a wholesome faith in the forces that make for righteousness."—*Beacon.*

POWER THROUGH REPOSE.

By ANNIE PAYSON CALL. 16mo, cloth, $1.00.

"Charming from first page to last."—*Boston Times.*

"Has more than ordinary value."—*Saturday Evening Gazette.*

PETRARCH.

A Sketch of His Life and Works. By MAY ALDEN WARD, author of 'Dante; A Sketch of His Life and Works.' 16mo, cloth, $1.25.

"A chapter in the history of civilization."—*Springfield Republican.*

"The best work in English on the Italian poet."—*Philadelphia Bulletin.*

DREAMS.

By OLIVE SCHREINER, author of 'The Story of an African Farm.' 16mo, cloth, author's edition, with portrait, $1.00.

"There is something new, that goes to the heart. . . . the only one of its kind."—*Public Opinion.*

"Full of power."—*Literary World.*

A NEW CHEAP EDITION.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN BROWN.

By F. B. SANBORN. With Portraits, an Engraving of Brown's birthplace, and facsimiles of important documents. 12mo, cloth, $2.00.

AT ALL THE BOOKSTORES.

ROBERTS BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, BOSTON.

A New Edition de Luxe.

Bulwer-Lytton's Novels.

LIMITED TO 1,000 COPIES.

The first and only fine illustrated edition of Lord Bulwer-Lytton's Novels ever made in Europe or America.

Bulwer stands foremost among novelists as a student and delineator of human nature, instincts, and passions, and he is also acknowledged to be the most versatile writer of his day and generation.

His popularity is increasing every year, and the publishers recognize the great demand for a good edition of his writings. This edition is embellished with over 200 Photogravures on Japanese Government paper, from original drawings and paintings by the best illustrators in America, and photographs of the actual scenes and places referred to, gathered on the spot especially for this edition.

The manufacture of the book is perfect.

The type is large and new, and set in a fine open page. The margins are ample, and the paper a beautiful natural-tint laid paper. The volume is a small 8vo, easy to handle, and the binding is vellum cloth, gilt tops, slightly trimmed. Complete in **32 volumes,** *issued at the rate of about 2 volumes per month, at* **$2.50 per volume.** *Prospectus and specimen pages showing type, page, and paper, with sample illustration, sent on application.*

BRYAN, TAYLOR & CO.,
757 Broadway, New York.

THE

New Music Palace,

453, 455, 457, 459, 461, 463

Washington Street, in the exact trade centre of Boston is the present central establishment of

OLIVER DITSON COMPANY,

and includes an elegant large retail store of 70 feet front, Piano Parlors of great beauty, and many halls, warerooms, and offices devoted to the storing and sale of the largest stock of Music on the Continent, and of every known Band, Orchestral, of other Instrument.

The Store, from its situation, is accessible to all music-lovers in eastern Massachusetts, and, by its universal system of advertising, mailing of lists and catalogues, extensive correspondence, and prompt mailing and expressing of goods ordered, practically stands at the door of every village home, and is a neighbor to all the scattered farmhouses of the whole country.

Correspond freely for Lists, Information, or Musical Advice.

FOR CHILDREN,	Motion Songs [25c., $2.28 doz.]. Bordman. Golden Boat [50c.]. Miss Chant.
SOCIAL SINGING.	College Songs [50 cents]. 90 songs. 200,000 sold.
SONG COLLECTIONS.	Song Classics, Vol. 1 [$1]. 50 songs. Choice Sacred Solos [$1]. 34 songs.
PIANO COLLECTIONS.	Popular Piano Collection [$1]. 27 pieces. Popular Dance Collection [$1]. 66 pieces.

Mailed postpaid on receipt of above prices.

OLIVER DITSON COMPANY, Boston.

FOREIGN PHOTOGRAPHS

Views, Paintings, and Sculpture.

Mounted and Unmounted.

BRAUN'S CARBON PHOTOGRAPHS.

Catalogue mailed for 10 cents.

C. H. DUNTON & CO.,

50 BOYLSTON ST., BOSTON.

School of Drawing and Painting,

AND DEPARTMENT OF DECORATIVE DESIGN, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.

For circulars and detailed information apply to the manager.

G. P. Putnam's Sons,

27 and 29 West 23d Street,

NEW YORK,

PUBLISH THIS WEEK:

The Memoirs of Talleyrand.

Edited, with preface and copious explanatory notes, by the DUC DE BROGLIE. Translated by Raphaël Ledos de Beaufort. With introduction by the Hon. Whitelaw Reid. To be complete in five volumes. VOLUMES I. AND II. NOW READY.

Octavo, with portraits and facsimiles of manuscript. Each, $2.50.

Contents: Volume I.—Part I. The Years Preceding the Revolution, 1754–1791—Part II. The Duc d'Orleans—Part III. The Convention; The Directory; The Consulate; The Early Years of the Empire, 1791–1808—Part IV. Spanish Affairs, 1807—Part V. The Erfurt Interview, 1808.

Volume II.—Part VI. Napoleon's Marriage; His Brothers; His Struggle with Pius VII., 1809–1813—Part VII. The Fall of the Empire; The Restoration, 1813–1814—Part VIII. Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815.

"They are the most valuable contribution made in our time to the history of new France and the new Europe which had their birth in the Revolution."—*N. Y. World.*

"The Memoirs of Talleyrand are both interesting and valuable. . . . The chief charm of the first portion of the Memoirs lies in the acute and quite elaborate analysis by Talleyrand of those elements in French society previous to the Revolution which, in his opinion, made the Revolution possible. It is impressive, brilliant, and once read not easily forgotten. . . . The accuracy and fidelity of this copy of the Memoirs have been disputed. But we see no good reason for doubting them. They are vouched for in the most formal manner by the present editor and by M. de Bacourt, the immediate custodian of the manuscripts, named by Talleyrand himself."—*N. Y. Times.*

The concluding volumes will follow at brief intervals.

(Full descriptive Prospectus sent on application.)

LEADERS IN SCIENCE.

I. The Life and Work of Charles DARWIN. By CHARLES F. HOLDER, author of 'Living Lights,' 'The Ivory King,' etc., etc. 12mo, illustrated, cloth. $1.50.

*** List of Spring Announcements sent on application.

THE

Connecticut General

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,

HARTFORD, CONN.

Assets January 1, 1891,	$2,105,848 97
Surplus to Policy-holders by Conn. and Mass. Standard,	510 217 81
Ratio of Assets to Liabilities,	132 to 100.

This Company offers insurance by a policy liberal and definite in terms as to amount of Premiums and amount of Policy, with *unquestioned security.*

T. W. RUSSELL, President. F. V. HUDSON, Secretary.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED